BEHIND THE JAPANESE MASK



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BEHIND THE JAPANESE MASK

By JESSE F. STEINER

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CONTENTS

CHAPTER		PAGE
I.	THE UNPREDICTABLE JAPANESE—A COSTLY MYTH	1
II.	LIKE UNTO GODS	14
III.	THE RISING TIDE OF RACIAL HATRED	28
IV.	THE WAY OF THE WARRIOR AND MILITARISM	42
V.	THE MODERN QUEST FOR KNOWLEDGE	59
VI.	WOMEN, MARRIAGE, AND MORALS	73
VII.	THE CHANGING WORLD OF LEISURE	89
VIII.	REGIMENTATION OF THE PEOPLE	105
IX.	EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR	118
X.	THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF JAPANESE CHARACTER	132
	INDEX	157

BEHIND THE JAPANESE MASK

1

THE UNPREDICTABLE JAPANESE— A COSTLY MYTH

PRIOR TO THE ATTACK ON PEARL HARBOR, the American people had been fully aware of the dangers that lurked across the Pacific, but refused to take them seriously. A widespread feeling prevailed that Japan would not dare to challenge the combined might of both England and America. Americans in general preferred to believe that the Japanese had too much sense to undertake, on their own initiative, such a precarious venture. We persisted long in our belief that they could be appeased if only a way could be found whereby they could save their face. To the last the public was lulled to feelings of security by their apparently sincere efforts to arrive at an amicable settlement of their difficulties through diplomatic channels. But all predictions failed. The fall of Manila, Hongkong, Singapore, Java, Burma, stands out as a stark and undeniable reality. The onward sweep of Japan's armed forces crushed defenses ill prepared to resist such determined assaults by a powerful and well equipped enemy.

Why have the Japanese proved to be so unpredictable? Why has our popular knowledge about them been so inaccurate? Why did the American public underestimate the extent of their preparations for a long and costly war? Why did we delude ourselves with the belief that the Japanese navy would never be able to withstand the onslaught of our own naval

forces? Why were we fooled by their official professions of friendship? Is it impossible for us to fathom the Japanese mind? Are the Japanese a peculiarly mysterious people beyond our capacity to understand? To what extent can we confidently rely upon our knowledge of the Japanese people? Is it possible that we are now greatly overestimating their capacity as military strategists because of their initial successes in the present war?

Questions such as these cannot be laughed off or ignored; they must be squarely faced. Upon the answers to these and similar questions depend not only our understanding of the events that brought this crisis upon us; upon them depend also to a large degree the price we must pay for victory, the numbers of American youth that must perish in this widespread battle of the Pacific, and the possibility of mitigating the bitterness and racial hatred following the war when efforts are made to build a new world of international peace and brotherhood. From every popular indication the conclusion is justified that the American people are determined to profit by their past mistaken judgments and are resolutely seeking a better knowledge of the enemy they are fighting in the Far East.

This book is an attempt to throw light on these questions by presenting as clearly as possible the basic traits and characteristics of the Japanese people. One way of doing this would be to start from our recent contacts with the Japanese and review our experiences with them as the war clouds grew darker throughout the Pacific area. Such a procedure, while illuminating, would still leave many questions unanswered. Japanese traits are a product of long experience during preceding centuries and they can best be studied in their national setting amid the influences that determined the nature of their development.

It is important for us to know the origin of their pride of race and the extent to which it differs from the German concept of the superman. Has their theory of divine descent been primarily responsible for their belief that they are superior to other peoples? Why has racial hatred become more deeply rooted among the Japanese as their nation has grown in power? Is their glorification of war similar to that which prevails in Germany today? Is their dream of world empire of recent origin or is it an outgrowth of unrealized ambitions of former times? Are the people themselves militaristic or are they being made the unwilling tools of a strong militaristic clique?

We must understand also how the Japanese have adapted western civilization to their own peculiar needs and purposes. What parts of our culture have they borrowed and what parts have they rejected? Have they borrowed more from Germany than from other western nations? Why were the Japanese so willing to seek knowledge throughout the world? Does the Japanese moral code differ fundamentally from that of the western nations? Why have the Japanese been so brutal in their treatment of women in conquered territories? Are Japanese men inconsiderate also of their own women?

These and many other questions remain to be answered when we try to penetrate behind the Japanese mask and understand their basic traits of character. We want to know how strong they are when a crisis is faced. Are they likely to be generous in victory and courageous in defeat? Is it possible to balance the strength and weakness of their character in such a way as to predict their behavior more accurately than has been done in the past? While western students of the Japanese do not fully agree in their interpretation of the Japanese, it should be possible to answer the above questions with reasonable accuracy. It is a discredit to American intelligence to assume that the Japanese are an unknown quantity.

From the beginning of our relations with Japan there has been a tendency to magnify the differences between the two peoples. Their way of life seemed to be a direct antithesis of our own. Our frankness stood in striking contrast to their more indirect methods of expression. Their unusually difficult language, which comparatively few Americans have fully mastered, operated as a serious barrier to communication and widened the distance between the two worlds of thought. Of great importance also, their physical traits marked them out as members of a colored race with all its implications of inferiority and lower social status.

As long as the Japanese remained a weak and backward people, we looked upon them condescendingly, assigned them to an inferior position, and even subjected them to rude insults. With their growth in military power and their demonstration of their capacity to fight with western weapons, our attitude changed to suspicion and distrust. No longer were they regarded merely as quaint and exotic; they became a mysterious and dangerous people whose dark and devious ways could never be accurately fathomed. When President Theodore Roosevelt sent the American fleet on a visit to the Far East, it was predicted that our war vessels would be blown up in Yokohama harbor. The efforts of the Japanese to float one of their cruisers that ran aground off the coast of Lower California were construed as an attempt to fortify a naval base near our Pacific coast.

These suspicions were not entirely groundless, for during the years immediately prior to the first World War the Japanese press frequently clamored for war against America, a foe that they believed to be easy to crush. The passage of legislation in 1924 excluding Japanese immigrants on the ground of ineligibility for citizenship aroused a storm of protests from Japan culminating in riots in Tokyo and bitter denunciations

of America in the Japanese press. Inflammatory articles were published demanding that military force be used to protect the rights of Japanese subjects abroad. Numerous statements were made concerning the world mission of Japan and the necessity of extending the beneficent rule of the Mikado to the ends of the earth.

This growing belligerency of the Japanese created no widespread alarm in our country. We gave scant attention to warnings by careful students of international affairs concerning large-scale production of war materials in Japan and the growing dominance of their military cliques. Misled by wishful thinking, we preferred to listen to those who felt sure that Japan would never take up arms against us. A widely read American article published in 1933 disposed of war with Japan in these words: "Japan as a snarling menace to our national security, ready and anxious to pounce upon us with bared fangs? Ridiculous! Poppycock! Absurd!—Our alarmists, who glance fearfully across the broad Pacific at a tiny nation of islanders, are like a large fighting cock ruffling its neck feathers and brandishing its spurs at the doings of a week-old chick, industriously scratching away in the barnyard. We may need a large fleet and a bigger army, but let us not be hoodwinked by balderdash into believing we need them as protection against Japan." *

American public opinion, on the whole, coincided with this point of view. Our distrust of Japan was deep-seated, but it rarely caused us to have serious fears for ourselves. Japan's acts of aggression, of which we were very critical, always seemed aimed against others. We were too conscious of the superiority of the white man's world to take seriously any challenge from the people of a colored race. In all our dealings with

* Roy M. Frisen, "Japanophobia," *Forum and Century*, Oct., 1933. Reprinted by permission.

Japan our fears have been quieted by the illusion of Japan's inferiority. It is astonishing how this belief in their inadequacy and inefficiency persisted in spite of their spectacular progress during the past half century. We still repeat the old canard that Chinese tellers must be employed in the banks of Japan because Japanese cannot be trusted in such positions. For many years western travellers preferred not to take passage on Japanese ships since their officers were thought to be ill-trained in seamanship. Until our recent clash of arms with Japan, it was widely believed in America that Japanese air pilots were lacking in skill and that their navy could easily be destroyed because of the poor marksmanship of their gunners. Western writers in various publications asserted the weakness of Japan's economic structure and predicted her inability to finance a large-scale or a prolonged war. In the field of technology we have long regarded the Japanese as good imitators, lacking in inventiveness or power of creation.

The absurdity of these popular misconceptions of the Japanese has been pointed out from time to time, but illusions that flatter our strong pride of race die hard. It is still difficult for the average American to realize that Japanese scientists rank high in the field of scholarship, that their skilled technicians can cope with the most difficult engineering problems, and that their standards of attainment in the professions are as high and exacting as in the western world.

It was this widespread tendency to belittle the ability of the Japanese people that was largely responsible for our unwillingness to make adequate preparations for the defense of our interests in the Far East. While we never thoroughly trusted the Japanese, it seemed necessary merely to keep our eyes upon them as we would upon a cur barking at our heels. They needed watching but we were confident that a bold

stand on our part would keep them at a proper distance. Our suspicion did not culminate in fear because we were convinced of our own preponderant strength.

Our failure to predict the way Japan would strike was not due to her impenetrable mask. On the contrary, the Japanese made no effort to conceal their determination to set up a new order in eastern Asia. They even asserted their intention "to come to the rescue of the white nations that had already arrived at their dotage." But these loudly proclaimed plans for world conquest made little impression upon us. Why should we be disturbed by the chauvinistic dreams of an ambitious but frustrated people whose bombastic words went far beyond their capacity to achieve their ends?

The basic reason for our misjudgment of the Japanese nation lies in our superficial knowledge of the history and culture of the Far East. The perpetuation of this myth of oriental incomprehensibility was made possible by our abysmal ignorance of the history of Japan and of the factors that have entered into the building of this nation. Our historical interest has been largely limited to the study of those countries and peoples to which our ancestral roots can be traced. However inadequate may be our knowledge of the history of western civilization, we at least are familiar with the names and exploits of its great leaders and feel that our present heritage is a product of their struggles and aspirations. But to most Americans Japan's past is a closed book. Few can name the heroes of old Japan or tell anything about their achievements. Even though western tourists visited the sacred places of Japan, they knew little of the traditions that cluster around the historic monuments. The religions to which Japanese have given allegiance are looked down upon as pagan and therefore unworthy of serious study except by scholars. Their customs

that come to our attention impress us as exotic and irrational and strengthen our convictions that the Japanese are a peculiar people whose behavior is difficult to forecast.

As a matter of fact, the Japanese should not be hard to understand since such a large range of their lives is governed by stereotyped conventions and a rigid social code. Every situation has its appropriate behavior. In everything a prescribed form has to be followed, whether it is the way a guest is received, the language to be used with superiors or inferiors, or the ritual to be followed in showing reverence to the Emperor. Even suicide must be carried out in accord with minutely prescribed conventions or else it loses its proper significance. A Japanese cannot live as an independent individual. He must follow the conventions of the group to which he belongs and conduct himself as his status demands.

In America, on the contrary, we place emphasis upon individual initiative and expect a person to be resourceful in an emergency. We want an individual to be natural and within proper limits spontaneous in his reactions. This gives us a wider range of possible behavior and it becomes more difficult to predict what we may do in a given situation. It is inevitable therefore that the Japanese should find us hard to understand in spite of the fact that they take pains in their schools to study our language, literature, and history. With good reason they complain that they are frequently surprised at our actions and never feel sure that they can anticipate our responses to their overtures.

But whatever mistakes the Japanese have made in their appraisal of American life and character, they cannot be charged to willful ignorance or lack of systematic study. Shortly after the opening of Japan by Commodore Perry, her leaders, humiliated by their nation's weakness, said bitterly, "We will learn all you can teach, and then we will fight you." This state-

ment of their long-time plan was consistently followed until its final culmination at Pearl Harbor. For more than three-quarters of a century her students have sought to familiarize themselves with all aspects of western civilization. Our way of life may have impressed them as strange and peculiar but certainly they never had reason to look upon us as mysterious. To them we were an open book, and guided by their full knowledge of our strength and weakness, they painstakingly made preparations during many years for their hour of surprise attack.

If we had been equally diligent in learning what the Orient had to teach, we might have looked behind the Japanese mask and gained a more accurate knowledge of their abilities and determined will to power. A deeper insight into the Japanese mind would at least have exploded the myths of their unpredictability and inferiority. But Far Eastern studies have never been a popular subject in American education. While America has had its share of competently trained students of the Orient, their publications have not been widely read. Our knowledge of Japanese life and character has largely been gained from popular books and articles often superficial in content, and from casual contacts with Japanese people both in this country and in the Orient.

Out of our relations with Japanese immigrants in our western states there has developed deep prejudice which magnifies their worst qualities. American missionaries, deeply interested in the welfare of their converts, overlook their faults and emphasize their virtues. Foreign business men in the Orient, encountering the sharp practices of Japanese competitors, become convinced of their dishonesty and unwillingness to stand by contracts. Tourists travelling through Japan are charmed with the courtesy and friendliness of the people. The general public, reading newspaper stories of Japanese military

aggression and their harsh treatment of conquered foes, looks upon them as a people not far removed from barbarism.

The time was when these contradictory impressions of Japanese traits were little more than a matter of academic interest. But this indifference in the present state of world affairs can no longer be tolerated. If we are to wage a victorious war against such a resourceful and well equipped enemy as the Japanese, we must be as intimately acquainted with their way of life as they are with ours. It is late, but perhaps not too late, to set ourselves to the task of acquiring that intimate and accurate knowledge of our oriental enemy that is essential both in winning the war and in planning the peace that awaits us in the future.

Another and more recent evidence of our failure to understand the Japanese may be observed in the enforced evacuation of enemy aliens from our Pacific coast. Along with Japanese aliens were evacuated their American-born children who have been brought up in this country and possess full rights as American citizens. To the American public the foreign-born and American-born Japanese are essentially alike. Since the second generation are Japanese in outward appearance, it is readily assumed that they share the opinions and attitudes of their immigrant parents.

Our experience with European immigrants indicates that this assumption may be far from correct. The American-born children of European nationalities quickly learn American ways at school and on the playground and grow out of sympathy with their parents' ideas and points of view. Widespread recognition of this gulf between European immigrants and their children is seen in the fact that no orders have been issued for the evacuation of American-born children of German and Italian enemy aliens.

The widespread feeling that Japanese physical traits are in-

evitably associated with traditional Japanese attitudes originated long before this present war emergency. During the controversy over Japanese immigration to America more than a generation ago, it was frequently asserted that persons of Japanese ancestry, no matter where born or under what conditions they were brought up and educated, would continue to possess inborn mental and emotional traits that made inevitable their loyalty to the Mikado.

Such statements are vigorously opposed by modern ethnologists. The customs and habits of a people, their ways of responding to given conditions, their peculiarities of manner that differentiate them from other racial groups are the result of social and not biological heredity. Race does not determine types of civilization or the nature of moral ideas. Such factors grow out of the social environment and are subject to modification as the environment changes.

It would be a mistake, of course, to assume that all American-born Japanese have had a full opportunity to be molded by Americanizing influences. The race prejudice that they have faced and their frequent segregation in Japanese residential districts have no doubt strengthened the influence of immigrant parents upon their children. Some of the American-born Japanese have made prolonged visits to Japan where they may have formed strong attachments. Under the existing circumstances a complete exemption of all second generation Japanese from the evacuation order would have been very undesirable.

But the important point is that in this dire emergency all persons of Japanese ancestry should be classified and treated as enemies even though more than half of them are American citizens. While the decision for this drastic action was made by military authorities, it met with widespread public approval. In the judgment of many Americans on the Pacific coast, all

Japanese-Americans, regardless of past records of devotion to American ideals, must in the interests of public safety be rated as potential enemies. The measures by which we determine the loyalty of German-Americans cannot be applied to Japanese-Americans. After fifty years of contact with the Japanese on the Pacific coast we still look upon them as a peculiar people whose American-born children are so unpredictable that it is futile to undertake to distinguish the loyal from the disloyal.

The existence of the widespread feeling in this country that the Japanese are a peculiar people, hard to understand and not to be fully trusted, gives some justification for the attempt in this book to set forth as clearly and concisely as possible their characteristic traits and way of life. An undertaking of this kind is always difficult and perhaps even presumptuous. Especially is this true when an occidental seeks to bridge the gulf between the East and the West and chart the distinctive features of an oriental people. Fortunately the Japanese are to a large degree homogeneous because of their insularity and long period of seclusion as a hermit nation. For this reason generalizations concerning them should be more valid than would be a similar analysis of our own country with its heterogeneous national and racial elements.

Their homogeneity of race and culture, however, does not mean that they are free from factional divisions. One of our difficulties in correctly appraising Japanese character and philosophy of life is the long drawn-out struggle between contending parties for control of national policy during the past half century. On the one hand are the liberals who favor democratic principles and have been eager to take over western culture, while on the other hand are the reactionaries who emphasize Japanese traditions, look to the past for their inspiration, and strive to build up a new spirit of nationalism. The

leaders of this latter movement are the militarists who in increasing degree since 1931 have gained control of the nation.

This new nationalism which now dominates the country brings again into ascendency the virtues and vices of old Japan. If this book had been written a decade ago, it would necessarily have given a larger role to traits that conform more closely to western ideals. But an analysis of present-day Japanese must emphasize the fact that their rapid advances in western science and technology have not greatly disturbed their old allegiance to the ideals and attitudes of feudal Japan. The Japanese today present the spectacle of a powerful nation essentially modern in all the arts of warfare but mediaeval in religious conceptions, moral ideas, and philosophy of life. And implicit in this revival of practices and beliefs of old Japan is a deep contempt for foreigners and especially for the white people of the western world.

2

LIKE UNTO GODS

THE ALLIANCE BETWEEN THE FUEHRER and the Mikado has brought together two powerful nations that have sought unity and strength in their doctrine of the superman. In the one case it is the Nordic race with its new religion of superiority, and in the other it is the god-like Japanese with a lineage traced back to the divine ancestors of their Imperial Line. Long before the advent of Hitler and his fantastic claims of a master race, it was quite apparent that the Japanese felt a closer affinity to the Germans than to other western nations. The German bureaucracy more nearly approximated Japanese conceptions of a highly centralized government, and the pattern of the German military system was exactly what was needed in the transformation of Japan's mediaeval warriors into a well disciplined, powerful army.

The turn of events in World War I brought Japan into that struggle on the side of the Allies but not without some misgivings on the part of many Japanese who felt more sympathetic with the German cause. Now in World War II the Japanese have thrown in their lot with the Axis and find themselves in congenial company as they join hands with Hitler in fighting for the supremacy of totalitarian ideals.

But the present strategical advantage of this alliance can not push entirely into the background its extraordinary contradictions. How can Hitler's new world order dominated by the master race of Aryan blood include the little brown

men from Japan, who, so obviously from the Nazi point of view, belong to the inferior peoples of the earth? And on the other hand, how can descendants from the great Japanese gods fraternize with western barbarians of even the superior German type and share with them the world they plan to conquer? Surely, even Hitler could see cause for the laughter of the gods as these two rival claimants for racial superiority, both of whom feel that their biological heritage surpasses that of all other peoples, ignore their wide racial differences and rub shoulders in a common cause. This is indeed an extraordinary spectacle in the modern world and constitutes one of the most dramatic phases of an almost unbelievable epoch.

The American people have long been familiar with the Japanese belief in their divine lineage but have usually dismissed it as a matter of no great importance. From our point of view it is merely a revival of old myths and traditions brought again to the front for purely political purposes. What we have failed to realize is its powerful appeal to a people depressed with a feeling of inferiority and its wide acceptance as a living reality, a reality in fact so deeply rooted that it unites them with fanatical zeal in their determination to win either victory or death. It is important therefore at the very outset of our discussion of Japanese traits to inquire into this phase of their character.

"From the fact of the divine descent of the Japanese people," says one of their scholars, "proceeds their immeasurable superiority to the natives of other countries in courage and intelligence." This conviction that one's racial and national heritage transcends that of others is a well-nigh universal trait varying only in degree among different peoples. As evidence of this widespread feeling we need only recall how white nations everywhere look upon the colored races as

inferior in their biological heredity as well as in their cultural achievements.

That the Japanese should exhibit this same tendency and boast of their superior heritage is not a matter for surprise. What makes their pride of race unique and significant is the claim that their ancestry can be traced back to gods who created the islands of Japan and set up an Imperial Line that has remained unbroken from time immemorial. If this fantastic belief in their divine lineage were merely a perpetuation of slowly dying mythological tales cherished among the more lowly and ignorant classes, it would merely be an indication of their recent emergence from a barbaric past. But the astonishing fact is that this is an official dogma supported by all the power of the government and regarded as the unchangeable foundation upon which the Empire rests.

To the Japanese nothing is more real than this doctrine of divine descent. It is deeply rooted in their traditions, is intimately bound up with their religious ceremonials, and is so rigidly insisted upon that any doubts concerning its validity cannot be openly expressed. Every Japanese child from its earliest years is not merely trained to reverence the Emperor as a living god; he is also taught that the Japanese people share this same divine heritage and therefore stand far above all aliens who are of baser origin. This belief in their unique origin and glorious destiny is indelibly implanted during early childhood through nursery tales, is an integral part of their historical instruction from the primary school through the university, and is kept vividly before the people through government-inspired newspaper and radio propaganda.

In some respects this glorification of their national heritage has much in common with the boastful pride of Americans who may regard our native land as God's own country and look upon marriage with Asiatics as introducing inferior ele-

ments into our blood stream. There is, however, at least one significant difference in the chauvinistic sentiments of the two peoples. American pride of race and nation, whatever offense it may give to others, is a voluntary expression on the part of groups and individuals and is not the result of planned and conscious indoctrination as is obviously the case in Japan. Among the Japanese this dogma of divine descent is the basic element in their loyalty to the Imperial Family and is utilized as a unifying force designed to promote national solidarity.

The foreign observer is constantly impressed with the fact that here is an essential part of their political creed from which not the slightest deviation is possible. No critical discussion is permitted of the historical evidence bearing upon the reliability of their ancient records. Eminent historians and professors of constitutional law find here the door of academic freedom rigidly closed. In a most effective manner the Shinto rituals have been made a medium for Emperor worship. The Meiji shrine erected recently in Tokyo in honor of a former Emperor has been magnificently conceived as a popular memorial, its extensive grounds containing not merely shrines for impressive state ceremonies but museums and athletic grounds for the recreation of the people. Imperial portraits granted as a special favor to schools and universities for use during the celebration of national holidays must be protected from harm at all costs. Formerly many teachers sacrificed their lives through hopeless efforts to rescue these portraits when school buildings were found enveloped in flames. Now the government requires each school to provide a fireproof safe or a specially constructed building for the Imperial portrait, and a competent watchman must be on guard at all times.

In order to preserve the proper attitude of reverence for the Emperor, the slightest suspicion of disrespect is taboo and is often severely punished. A prominent university professor

who cast doubt upon the reality of the sacred jewels given Japan by the Sun Goddess was severely reprimanded and compelled to apologize publicly. When officials of the Imperial Household were charged with having used the Imperial seal for their own private advantage, their accusers were arrested for daring to presume that persons so near the Throne could do anything wrong. A well known public official was imprisoned because he publicly stated that a certain prime minister owed his appointment to the Elder Statesmen instead of to the Emperor, although it was well known that the Emperor acted only upon their advice. A Japanese Christian pastor only a few years ago stated in one of his sermons that the doctrine of the Trinity was unacceptable to the Japanese. There are in reality, he said, four persons in the Godhead, of whom the Emperor should be honored first. This statement instead of meeting with public approval brought upon him severe criticism by many people who felt that the Emperor had been insulted even though he had been placed above the others.

The revival of the ancient belief in the divine origin of the Imperial Line came as an aftermath of the Restoration in 1868 which was brought about by the downfall of the Tokugawa Shogunate. With extraordinary ingenuity the new leaders surrounding the Emperor turned Shinto, the indigenous religion of the Japanese, into a political cult which utilized all the resources of sacred but half-forgotten myths and symbols and rituals in building up a nation united by loyalty to their Emperor whose ancestry was traced back to the gods themselves.

Modern Shinto with its official shrines and elaborate state ceremonies may not be a religion in the strict meaning of this term, but for the mass of the people the sentiments and attitudes associated with it are religious in nature and therefore possess the strength that comes through divine sanctions. Whatever the intellectuals among the Japanese may believe,

from the point of view of the populace the solidarity of the state is closely bound up with these ancient religious traditions. The people accept without question the legendary history of old Japan. In their highly centralized educational system there are tolerated no textbooks or lectures in which old traditions are critically discussed. The most dangerous thoughts in Japan are those that cast doubt upon the validity of the traditional structure of the state or seem to detract one iota from the prestige of the Imperial Family.

Newspaper editors must be constantly on their guard lest inadvertently something might be published that could be interpreted as disrespectful to the Throne. In the celebration of national holidays, the ceremony of worshiping the Emperor must be meticulously carried through in the prescribed manner. When the Emperor on rare occasions leaves the seclusion of the palace grounds and passes through the streets of Tokyo, curtains must be drawn over all windows above the first floor so that none may look down upon him. All heads are bowed reverently as the Imperial procession approaches, for to gaze upon his divine person would be sacrilegious. Ministers of state must make journeys to the Shrines of Ise to inform the Imperial ancestors of important events.

This reverence of their Emperor as god and their insistence that he should be given first place among the gods of other nations throw a flood of light on Japanese character. The Japanese are not ignorant of the great religions of the world with their emphasis upon moral and spiritual ideals nor of their own ancient records which describe the founding of their nation by the gods whose descendants they now revere as their divine Emperors. They are perfectly aware that the mythological fabrications recorded in their two most important ancient volumes, the Kojiki (A.D. 712) and the Nihongi (A.D. 720), contain no moral precepts and give no in-

dication that their early gods possessed the virtues ordinarily associated with divinity. The early gods of Japan lived and died and were buried as mortals. Their first recorded activities were procreation, demonstration of their prowess as dragon killers, quarrels among themselves, and wars upon hostile tribes. The ethical standards of their first Emperor, Jimmu, who is reputed to have reigned 2600 years ago, appear in a story, recorded in the Kojiki, of a banquet to which he invited eighty of his enemies. A gorgeous feast was served by butlers, one standing behind each guest to see that his wants were supplied. At a given signal the butlers drew their concealed daggers and each killed his man, thus at one blow destroying the leaders of the Emperor's foes. The story is probably not authentic, but it makes clear the prevailing conceptions of the character of Japan's first Emperor at the time when the Kojiki was written. Even if we had reason to concede, which we do not, that the gods who were the mythical founders of Japan were gods in the real meaning of that term, we find no evidence in the historical records of the past 1000 years that the Japanese Emperors possessed divine attributes handed down from one generation to another. On the contrary, many of the Emperors lived as figureheads behind the scenes, were forced to abdicate when those in power demanded it, and even the Imperial Line would have died out, if there had not been frequent resort to the custom of adoption of children. The Japanese government officials and educators know full well that the doctrine of their Emperor's divinity has been built up as a political device to strengthen their state at home and give it greater prestige abroad. This notorious example of mendacity in the interests of national unity makes clear their low conception of truthfulness, a trait which has been especially characteristic of the Japanese in their relations with other nations.

During recent years the Emperor-cult, which has been

ardently fostered by the militarists and patriotic societies, has become more securely entrenched and new life has been given to old religious ceremonies and festivals. A missionary urge to revive the ways of old Japan has led to the launching of popular movements to bring this about. The Japanese nation with no apparent feeling of incongruity has faced resolutely toward the past in its efforts to maintain a strong political structure, while at the same time it takes pride in keeping pace with the latest discoveries in the modern scientific world.

It is this deliberate effort of the Japanese to face two ways regardless of the irrationality of such behavior that points to one of the chief weaknesses of the nation. The Japanese have not dared to modernize their conception of the state, which still remains a mediaeval institution both in the foundation upon which it rests and in the denial of freedom of thought for the people. How long, we are inclined to ask, can a literate nation that stands high in its attainments in modern science and technology accept myths that originated during the childhood of the race? Is it at all likely in a modern world that educated people will continue to bow in submission to governmental demands made authoritative by the claim that they represent the will of an Emperor, who though divine is merely the mouthpiece of the party that is for the moment in power?

Before hastily answering these questions as reason might seem to dictate, we should remind ourselves that customs and traditions deeply rooted in the past experience of the people become an inseparable part of the entire social organization. So authoritative and coercive may such traditions become that the tendency to follow the customary outweighs rational judgments and gives unexpected stability to doctrines and practices that seem to be entirely outmoded. We should not therefore too readily assume that the foundations of the Japanese state are insecure because they are imbedded in myths and tradi-

tions that from our point of view cannot stand the light of scientific scrutiny. On the contrary, it may well be claimed that Japan gains security from the fact that its roots lie deep in the religious traditions of the people.

This unique religious foundation upon which their nation has been built has made inevitable a deep pride of race that has been strengthened by the successes of recent years. If the Emperor is a descendant of the gods, then divine blood courses through the veins of his loyal subjects. This belief in their superior racial origin has made a deep impress upon the character of the people. In all their contacts with foreign nations the Japanese have been proud and haughty, ever boastful and flamboyant in their assertions that their race and culture are superior to all others. "The use of narcotics is unworthy of a superior race like the Japanese," states an official handbook distributed to the soldiers of the Kwantung army in China. "Only inferior races like the Chinese, Europeans, and the East Indians are addicted to the use of narcotics. This is why they are destined to become our servants and eventually disappear." *

To the Chinese these claims of superiority seem fantastic, for Japan's emergence from barbarism more than a thousand years ago was brought about by the widespread adoption of the important features of Chinese civilization, which gave the Japanese a written language and their first knowledge of the literature, philosophy, and art of eastern Asia. In the western world these assertions of inherent greatness and superior capacity have never been taken seriously, for it is well known that Japan's transformation from a primitive agricultural regime to a modern industrial economy has been made possible by her wholesale acceptance of science and technology first developed

* F. T. Merrill, *Japan and the Opium Menace*, p. 63 (New York: Institute of Pacific Relations, 1942). Reprinted by permission.

in the West. But from the point of view of the Japanese, their discriminating capacity to take what they needed from abroad and mold these foreign ideas and inventions into patterns suited to their purpose is ample evidence of their possession of unique qualities that mark them out as a nation destined to rule the world.

As they see it, the great progress of their nation during the past half century should not be regarded as the westernization of Japan. They prefer to look upon it as the Japanization of western culture. Through the genius of the Japanese people the imperfect achievements of the West have been revitalized and advanced to a more perfect state of development. Dazzled by their success in building a powerful nation and glorying in their divine heritage, they look upon their recent military conquests as in reality sacred missions designed to give new life to decaying and benighted peoples of other lands.

In the development of this messianic complex which has gone forward rapidly in recent years no effort has been made to conceal from foreign eyes the purpose they had in view. Both by means of veiled threats and by forthright statements the western world was warned not to stand in the way of the onward sweep of Japanese destiny. But even more revealing than the chauvinistic boasts of the militarists were the frequent statements by zealous patriots of their duty to save the world. In the words of a recent student of their population problem, "Those among us who are most zealous and overflowing with divine spirit must go and offer a new life to distant nations. Heaven has ordered us to complete this task. The Yamato race has much to accomplish in the future. In order to fulfill this mission satisfactorily, the increase of a million people a year seems to be too few."

Perhaps this fanatical insistence upon their divine mission to the outside world is their response to detractors who point

out that the Japanese are great borrowers rather than initiators in the building of modern civilization. Oppressed by the thought of their great debt owed to ancient China and to the modern western world, they seek reassurance in their conception of the divine origin of the Yamato race. The odium they suffer as imitators will disappear, they believe, when Japanese culture is disseminated throughout the whole world.

While an explanation of this kind may seem plausible, this rampant spirit of nationalism that characterizes the Japanese follows a pattern that is now widespread among many nations. Its extreme manifestations in Japan in recent years may be largely the result of clever machinations of reactionary cliques that seek to revive mediaeval traditions and beliefs as a means of preserving the distinctive qualities of the nation. Under the impetus of this movement, the swashbuckling samurai of feudal days have come again to the front in the guise of aggressive, hard-bitten military overlords who ruthlessly sweep aside all opposition in their determined search for power. The widely heralded claims to superiority of the Yamato race and civilization have led inevitably to an inflation of the nation's ego that not only paved the way for military aggression but stimulated the further development of traits of overconfidence and conceit which have long been characteristic of the Japanese people.

Even in old Japan there were dreams of empire that went far beyond their capacity to achieve. Hideyoshi, the Napoleon of Japan three hundred and fifty years ago, planned to conquer Korea and China and make himself the Emperor of the East. This, he mistakenly thought, could be accomplished in two years. Long before the modern Japanese had completed the rebuilding of their old institutions, they felt themselves competent to guide China along the path of progress. The mission of the Japanese to the Orient was a popular subject of

discussion during the opening years of the present century. Their contact with the complicated instruments and more efficient methods of western civilization did not lead to any deep feelings of inferiority. On the contrary they were constantly asserting that out of this intermingling of the East and the West would come a new oriental civilization that would surpass anything the West had ever known. The efforts of foreign missionaries to propagate the Christian religion inspired the Japanese to undertake the creation of a new religion that would make Christianity obsolete. Even while the Japanese were sending their students abroad for instruction and were employing many foreign experts in government and industry, they were insisting that the time would soon come when the world would sit at their feet.

This unbounded confidence in their ability has at times led them into ridiculous errors which would not have been made by people less sure of themselves. This has been frequently illustrated in the crude phrasing of official notices issued by police in a foreign language and the absurd English signs over shops in cities frequented by tourists from abroad. Instructions handed to foreigners taking out motor licenses in 1918 included the following: "When you meet the cow or the horse speed slowly and take the care to ring the horn. If they afraid the sound you must escape a little while at the side of the road till they pass away." Foreign residents in Japan have constantly been confronted with similar linguistic barbarisms which easily could have been avoided if those responsible had been willing to ask assistance from those competent to give it.

But the Japanese in their contact with things foreign tend to assume a superior air. Anything received from the West needs to be adapted to their peculiar needs before it is acceptable. The Japanization of the West is to be their contribution to the progress of the world. Foreign languages also are not

exempt from this process and must be modified both in pronunciation and in method of expression as they come into contact with the genius of the Japanese people. Already many English words and expressions have been assimilated into their vernacular and are so changed in pronunciation and spelling that they are hardly recognizable by a foreigner.

An interesting example of their determination to set themselves up as linguistic authorities is seen in the new scheme for the romanization of their language issued officially by the Japanese government a few years ago. Unwilling to use longer the well established system of romanization worked out many years ago by competent western scholars, the Japanese prepared a new transliteration of their syllabic language which to them seemed to provide a more accurate guide to pronunciation of Japanese sounds and names. Under this new system one of their luxurious liners, the *Chichibu Maru,* became *Titibu Maru.* When it was discovered that this new way of writing the name of this steamship caused foreigners to mispronounce it grossly, the authorities ordered the ship to be renamed instead of abandoning a method of transliteration that had been severely criticized by competent scholars and had proven to be entirely unsatisfactory.

Evidence of their national conceit appears even more clearly in their tendency to assume priority in important inventions. The War Ministry in 1927 awarded a pair of silver vases to Mr. Chuhachi Ninomiya for having invented the airplane in 1894. The Ford Motor Company in Japan was sued by a Japanese for stealing one of his inventions. A few years ago the Japanese press announced that a Japanese army officer had invented the telescopic sight and that another had perfected a device for sending photographs by wireless. Western visitors to Japan, whose knowledge of the language enables them to have more than a superficial acquaintance with the

people, are frequently shocked to find out how common is the assumption that their great advances in technology are the outgrowth of their own discoveries and inventions. These mistaken beliefs about their achievements are only partially a result of their insularity and provincial knowledge of the wider world. Convinced of their own greatness as a people of divine origin, they readily assume that their adaptations of western technology represent a contribution to progress that goes far beyond the clumsy struggles for perfection by inferior peoples.

It must not be forgotten also that the Japanese have been interested only in studying the material side of our civilization. All spiritual values and the more enduring philosophies of life have originated, they point out, in the East. In all the qualities that make a nation truly great—keenness of intellect, appreciation of beauty, artistic skill, simple living, cultural attainments, and enduring loyalty to their nation—they are confident that they are as far above other races and nations as gods are above men.

3

THE RISING TIDE OF RACIAL HATRED

THE PSYCHOLOGISTS, who explain human behavior on the basis of a long background of conditioning, complexes, and frustration, will find interesting confirmation of their theory in a study of Japan's rising tide of hatred of the western world. Just as Hitler rose to power on a sweeping floodtide of the bitterness of defeat with its frustrations and disappointed hopes, so the Japanese, embittered by the many evidences of their inferior status among western nations and oppressed by fears for their national security, sought to overcome their feelings of inferiority by a spectacular drive for power which has culminated in the present war. Europe's experience with Hitler should have made Americans more aware of the significance of Japan's jealousy and hatred which were as far as possible concealed behind her mask of good will, courtesy, and hypocrisy.

Few Americans have a full realization of Japan's deep-seated contempt and hatred for the white people of the western world. We have been much more conscious of the Yellow Peril in the West than of its counterpart, the White Peril in the East. The eagerness with which the Japanese, since the days of Commodore Perry, have studied western civilization and have incorporated into their way of life so many of its achievements has flattered our pride and caused us to assume that their attitude toward us was that of pupil to teacher. It was easy for

us to believe that, since our civilization surpassed theirs in so many ways, they must look upon us as a superior people toward whom attitudes of respect should be maintained. Only gradually have we awakened to the fact that their pride of race was even greater than ours and that their response to our condescending ways and discriminatory treatment was a growing hostility and a deep-seated feeling that their day of retaliation must eventually come.

To understand the Japanese attitude toward the western world we must review the circumstances under which they had their early associations with occidentals. Late in the sixteenth century Portuguese traders and missionaries, after nearly a hundred years of friendly intercourse with Japan, were expelled from that country. So determined were the Japanese to free themselves from all foreign influences and contacts that no Japanese were permitted to go abroad upon pain of death. Ships large enough for foreign voyages might no longer be constructed. The government, in its efforts to uproot every trace of the Christian religion that had spread so rapidly among the people, entered upon an era of severe persecution equaled only by the horrors of the Spanish Inquisition. An edict promulgated at that time said: "So long as the sun warms the earth, let no Christian be so bold as to come to Japan; and let all know that if the King of Spain, or the Christian's God, or the Great God of all violate this command, he shall pay for it with his head." Through the enforcement of the most rigid laws, foreign influence was driven out of the country, and Japan followed the policy of strict seclusion for more than two hundred years.

The reasons for this revulsion of feeling are not hard to find. The Japanese could not long be blind to the fact that the Europeans of that day, whether merchants or missionaries, were by no means mere traders or religious propagandists.

There grew in their minds the suspicion that even the propagation of Christianity was being used as a cloak to hide the political designs of the foreigners. They believed that their country was endangered by the presence of foes masquerading as friends. Their only safety, they felt, lay in taking stern measures before the foreigners had secured a firm foothold in their country.

From this time dates the beginning of Japanese prejudice against the West, a prejudice so strong that it caused Japan to drop out of touch with the progress of the world and to become almost hopelessly outdistanced in the race of material civilization. What little knowledge of the western world filtered into Japan during its two centuries of seclusion came largely through Dutch traders who by accepting humiliating restrictions carried on a little trade at the southern port of Nagasaki. Some Dutch books were secured and translated, but so violent was the prejudice against things western that this new learning could not be widely disseminated.

It is easy to understand, therefore, why so much suspicion and fear were aroused by Commodore Perry's visit to Japan in 1853 when he demanded that the country be opened to foreign intercourse. If his demand had not been backed up by the presence of American battleships, the Japanese would doubtless have given it scant consideration. Their laws against foreign trade were still in full force and there was no disposition on their part to violate the traditions of the past. It was only their inability to cope with the situation that caused them to consent reluctantly to open their country. The Japanese, who were then as now past masters in the art of courtesy, did not allow their feelings of chagrin to affect their treatment of the foreigners. No unpleasant incidents occurred to mar the first visit of Americans to Japan. Even the common people

showed a friendliness and civility hardly to be expected under the circumstances.

During the years immediately following the opening of Japan, many of their leaders as well as a large portion of the common people seemed favorably disposed toward the foreigners. The hostile attitude was largely confined to the samurai, the military class of the feudal period, who as the protectors of their nation felt it their duty to rid the country of western invaders. This proud and insolent military group, accustomed to receiving the homage of all whom they met, bitterly resented the humiliating way in which their nation had been compelled to bow to foreign demands. The samurai were well acquainted with the history of their past and knew the sad results that had followed the first foreign invasion in the sixteenth century. They must have been at least dimly aware that the coming of the westerner heralded a new era which would mark the downfall of their prestige and power. In their eyes the foreigner was a dangerous intruder who must be expelled at all costs. On the body of a Japanese killed in an attack on the British legation at that time was found a paper which contained these words: "I, though I am a person of low standing, have no patience to stand by and see the sacred empire defiled by foreigners." These zealous patriots not only tried to drive out the foreigners, but also directed their assaults against the Japanese ministers of state who were using their influence to promote closer relations with the West. Some of the best Japanese leaders of that day gave up their lives in their attempt to lead the nation away from its old policy of seclusion. Over the head of one of these victims was placed this inscription: "This is the head of a traitor who has violated the most sacred laws of Japan—those which forbid the admission of foreigners into the country."

This anti-foreign feeling was still further aggravated by the one-sided treaties which Japan was practically compelled to make with western powers. In the treaties of 1854 and 1858 between Japan and America, the Japanese government granted the right of extraterritoriality and agreed to impose only a fixed minimum tariff rate, thus surrendering two basic privileges of an independent nation. In accordance with the terms of these treaties foreigners lived in concessions or settlements where they were not under jurisdiction of the Japanese courts. In these foreign districts there was built up on an extravagant scale a replica of an occidental city with its western style business structures and residences, beautifully landscaped parks, churches, schools, hospitals, foreign language newspapers, police, consular courts, social and athletic clubs—in fact everything needed for comfortable if not luxurious living in a foreign land.

For the vast majority of the foreign residents their social life was confined to the narrow limits of these concessions. The native quarters of the city, if visited at all, were looked upon as places for slumming expeditions or were hastily and superciliously passed through on occasional recreational trips to the open country. The world of the foreigner and the world of the Japanese remained apart, the one marked by a show of wealth and extravagance, the other characterized by relative poverty and simplicity of living.

This segregation of westerners in Japan and their control over their own community life aroused bitter feelings among the Japanese, who keenly resented this forced surrender of their authority over aliens in their midst. Moreover, the haughty, insolent attitude of some of the foreigners played no small part in increasing their unpopularity. In all the dealings of westerners with the Japanese during the first years of the Meiji era, there was this assumption of superiority, a

tendency to treat Japan in a condescending and patronizing way very galling to a proud and sensitive people. This situation was further aggravated by the rude and inconsiderate conduct of the more unprincipled foreigners. Offense was frequently given by their failure to distinguish between Japanese women of good and low repute. When engaging in the pastime of horseback riding, they sometimes took pleasure in making pedestrians scatter as they galloped rapidly through the narrow streets. On their hunting expeditions they hunted where they wished and shot recklessly in fields where they endangered the lives of the farmers.

Under these circumstances the resentment of the Japanese against the foreigners became so strong that the more hot-blooded among them demanded that the honor of the country should be preserved by an appeal to the sword. Those in authority, however, advocated a different policy. Realizing the weakness of their nation, they hid their bitterness beneath a cloak of deferential politeness and went ahead with their plans for an empire strong enough to demand respect and defend itself against foreign exploitation. With them it was a question not merely of avenging insults but of preserving the independence of their nation. They feared that the arrogant foreigners who had so little regard for their customs and institutions might at any moment attempt to exploit their nation as they had already exploited China. Convinced that mediaeval methods of defense were entirely inadequate, they set themselves to the task of building a strong army and navy equipped with all the modern instruments of war.

Later, when the Japanese government was more strongly established and the people had gained a wider knowledge of the West, this attitude of hostility was pushed into the background. Fear of western aggression was superseded by a strong desire to win western recognition. The achievements of the

West convinced them of the real backwardness of their nation. Many felt that their best policy would be to curry foreign favor by abandoning old customs and taking steps to westernize their country. The strongly centralized government under the control of able and progressive leaders reconstructed as far as possible their old institutions along western lines. Efforts were made to conform to western social standards. Counts Inouye and Ito attempted to Europeanize high society in the Japanese capital. Court ladies ordered gowns from Paris and learned to waltz in western style. A suitable foreign building was erected in Tokyo where expensive balls were given to members of the diplomatic corps. At these functions Japanese ladies of high rank put aside their traditional ideas of modesty and retirement and associated with men on terms of equality. These innovations made by the leaders of the government set the fashion for the people. Western ideas and customs were adopted widely regardless of their utility under oriental conditions. Leading men in Japan urged that Christianity be accepted merely as a matter of good policy, and it was even proposed that the Emperor receive the rite of Christian baptism. To such an extent did the craze for things foreign prevail during the period of western popularity in the eighties of the last century that many thought the Japanese nation would be occidentalized in the course of a very few years.

Having thus conformed in such large measure to western standards, the Japanese felt that they had a right to new treaties that would admit them on equal terms into the circle of civilized nations. All the resources of diplomacy were called into requisition in their endeavor to convince the western nations that further discriminatory treatment was an act of injustice. When all their efforts ended in failure, there spread over Japan a wave of indignant protest that carried with it a strong reaction against things western. Native customs came

back into favor, and the cry of "Japan for the Japanese" was raised. Oriental reserve no longer concealed their anti-foreign feelings which had been repressed for a number of years. Hundreds of Christian converts shook off their allegiance to the foreign religion and drifted back into their former mode of life. Enthusiastic missionaries who had predicted the speedy Christianization of Japan found themselves doomed to disappointment. The mad rush to ape foreign customs ceased and in its stead the ways of old Japan came again into popular favor. Japan's victory over China in 1895 greatly strengthened the national consciousness of the Japanese and gave them the confidence they needed to deal more aggressively with the West. Their renewed demands for treaty revision could no longer be denied, and in 1899 there went into effect new treaties that granted Japan equal rights and privileges in her international relations.

This tardy recognition of Japan removed one source of friction with the West but the prolonged struggle had left feelings of bitterness that could not easily be forgotten. Moreover, the West still maintained its assumption of superiority and in various ways made clear to the Japanese that they were regarded as a people on a lower plane of civilization. Because of the wide difference between the standards of living in Japan and the West, such an attitude on the part of the foreigners was almost inevitable. Even the foreign missionary lived in a house much larger than the average Japanese could afford and received a salary five times the amount paid to the native pastor. Foreigners employed by the government in any capacity had to be paid a much larger salary than Japanese holding similar positions. Indeed, in almost all the relations between foreigners and Japanese, the fact that the former were on a higher level than the latter was unavoidably apparent. As far as the possession of political rights was concerned, the

Japanese had gained their point, but it was continually forced upon their attention that they were as far as ever from being admitted into the inner circle of western society. With social equality still denied them their old feeling of dislike of foreigners not only was perpetuated but became more openly a characteristic of the Japanese nation. During the early years of the present century Dr. S. L. Gulick, a missionary and devoted friend of the Japanese, stated frankly in these words his opinion of their attitude toward people of a foreign race: "Few foreigners have received a hearty welcome from the people at large. They are suspected and hated; as little room as possible is made for them. The less of their presence and advice the better.—Of course there are many exceptions to these statements, especially among the Christians. But such is the attitude of the people as a whole, especially of the middle and upper classes, toward the foreigners." *

This mounting tide of anti-foreign feeling reached new heights as a result of the American agitation for the exclusion of Japanese immigrants during the first decade of the present century. Many Japanese believed that the honor of their country was at stake and the more frank and outspoken did not hesitate to express their indignation in words of open defiance. Count Okuma in a telegram to the New York *World* in 1906 voiced the attitude of many of his countrymen in these words: "America has no enemy at present, and it will be a thoughtless policy if America purposely makes an enemy by inflaming public opinion against Japan. The United States is the wealthiest country in the world, but it has not sufficient defense in the Pacific if the two nations were to come to hostilities. There is nothing more dreadful than crazy persons. The Japanese are a crazy nation in fighting and will display their

* *Evolution of the Japanese*, p. 365. New York: Fleming H. Revell Co., 1903. Reprinted by permission.

madness as in the late war. The Japanese are always ready to throw away their lives for their nation; they regard their lives as lightly as they do the weather. On the other hand, Americans and Europeans attach the chief importance to money. Those who love money love their lives. Suppose the two nations, whose ideas toward death are fundamentally different, should fight. The final result is easily seen, and the understanding of this fact seems to be the cause of America trying to expand the navy on a great scale."

In an article published in the *Independent* the following year, Mr. Adachi Kinnosuke expressed himself in a similarly belligerent manner: "Is Japan then afraid of America? When a question of national honor is before us, we would not hesitate a moment to take up arms against all the gods and the devils, let alone an earthly power. This is no rhetoric. When we declared war against China everybody thought, ourselves included, and even the most enlightened press of that torch-bearer of civilization called the United States, all thought that the Middle Kingdom had a rather light-before-the-breakfast job; and today we of Nippon certainly do not think that America is anything as serious a foe as Russia seemed to us in 1904." *

There is no doubt that the above fairly represented the feelings of a large portion of the Japanese people at that time. A few years later the passage of the California Alien Land Laws caused another wave of anti-American prejudice in Japan which threatened to result in serious complications. This discrimination against Japanese immigrants seemed to them to be an insult which no first-class power could afford to overlook. After having made so much progress in western civilization, they bitterly resented being treated as though they

* "The Attitude of Japan Toward the United States," *Independent*, Vol. LXII, p. 1458.

were still ignorant and undesirable Asiatics. It irked their pride to be placed on the same plane with Chinese and Koreans and to be deprived of privileges freely granted Europeans. In the eyes of the Japanese this attempt to dispossess their countrymen in California was simply an act of unwarranted hostility inspired by race hatred. It brought them new evidence that they were still regarded as an inferior race unfit to associate with the West on terms of social equality.

At the time of the outbreak of the first World War, American criticisms of Japan's aggression toward China brought again to the front deep feelings of resentment. The vernacular press was filled with bellicose articles, and even the common talk of the people on the streets was about the inevitable war against America. Japan's lot was thrown in with the Allies but they never received her hearty support. America's decision to enter the war was looked upon with disfavor by the Japanese. Rumors were spread of America's intention to dominate Pacific affairs and warnings were issued to be prepared for an invasion by the American fleet. Bitter criticisms of America appeared in the most prominent journals and no attempt was made by the Japanese government to prevent open expression of hostility.

This anti-American feeling reached a new high point in 1924 when the newly enacted immigration legislation excluded Japanese immigrants on the ground that they were aliens ineligible for citizenship. As soon as this news reached Tokyo, an excited mob cut down the flag at the American Embassy and slashed it to shreds. Patriotic societies put up thousands of posters urging the people to hate everything American and to avenge the insults heaped upon their native land. The press was filled with threats of war. The populace demanded not merely a boycott against American goods but the cessation of all cultural relations between the two countries. Ameri-

can missionaries were denounced as hypocrites who brought to Japan a gospel of good will and justice which their own countrymen refused to accept as a guide to conduct. The whole foreign missionary enterprise was attacked as a subversive movement designed to undermine Japanese loyalty to their own institutions and to instill into the minds of impressionable youth revolutionary ideas that would weaken their attachment to the nation. Popular articles were written describing the decadence of America and predicting its destruction by the evil forces in its midst which could not be controlled.

This hysterical outburst against America was accompanied by an energetic campaign to destroy western influences within their own country. Women were urged not to appear in public in foreign clothes or to have their hair dressed in foreign style. Western dances were frowned upon and even western learning was discredited except where it was essential in keeping pace with advances in science. Excessive tariffs were placed on foreign goods both to discourage their use and to discommode aliens living in Japan. Efforts were made to drive foreign business firms out of the country by subjecting them to exasperating restrictions. The newspaper press took delight in spreading scandals involving members of diplomatic corps and other members of the foreign community.

The wave of alien hatred that swept over Japan during the 1920's became more widespread and menacing during the 1930's. The response of the Japanese to foreign criticism of their military aggression in Manchuria and China was an upsurge of chauvinistic nationalism so powerful that nothing foreign could stand against it. Under the influence of this patriotic fervor every effort has been made to revive and glorify the ways of old Japan and to cast off all degrading dependence upon the West. Severe restrictions placed on foreign missionary work forced the withdrawal of many foreign

missionaries and finally brought to an end this historic movement which at one time had seemed destined to make Japan a Christian nation. Such western ideas as representative government and individualism became more and more taboo as the military machine grew in power. Even higher education of women and the teaching of western languages were looked upon with disfavor. So bitterly opposed were the reactionary leaders to all things western that they placed their condemnation upon well established and popular borrowings from abroad, such as foreign dress, foreign food, foreign music, and foreign sports and amusements. To demonstrate their complete freedom from the West, English signs were torn down and the government railways abandoned their custom of having the names of stations written out in the roman alphabet. Foreign words, which through long usage had become incorporated into their language, were relentlessly dropped even though their replacement by native words was difficult. Japanese school readers no longer contained stories of foreign lands. Western technology, which cannot be scrapped without weakening their military strength, was made more acceptable by calling attention to their recent contributions in the field of science. Efforts were made to popularize Nazi ideology by pointing out its close affinity to the ideas and practices of old Japan.

This widespread repudiation of the western world finally reached its culmination in their declaration of war against America and England. Such an outcome was clearly foreseen by the Japanese as is shown by their frequently published predictions of war as well as by their thorough military preparation for such an eventuality. In a very real sense this outbreak of war was a logical outcome of a long history of racial hatred that grew stronger with the passing of the years. This hostility was deeply rooted in the traditions of old Japan and broke

out in a festering sore at the time of their humiliating contacts with foreigners during the years that followed the opening of their country to western intercourse. Western race prejudice against the East was no greater than eastern prejudice against the West, but it brought greater disabilities and embarrassment to the Japanese because of their inferior position in international affairs. The western nations, securely established in a world they dominated, could well afford to ignore oriental criticisms of their institutions and way of life. To the Japanese, however, struggling for international recognition and status, every slight became a national insult which must be avenged. Their revival of the old myths of divine origin of their land and people strengthened their pride of race and made them more determined to build a nation whose power could not be resisted. Every advance in military might was a new step toward this long awaited goal. Their growing belief in their superiority deepened their feelings of contempt for western peoples of baser origin. When their ambitious plans for the so-called new order in eastern Asia were strongly opposed by England and America, the flames of racial hostility were fanned anew and the Japanese launched the attack for which they had been long preparing.

4

THE WAY OF THE WARRIOR AND MILITARISM

VISITORS TO JAPAN DURING THE 1930'S were astonished at the extraordinary precautions taken by the Japanese to conceal from outsiders any information that might conceivably be of any military value. The authorities were extremely fearful that foreign eyes might catch even a distant glimpse of their military strongholds. Certain areas were closed to tourist travel, a veil of secrecy surrounded their industrial plants, and restrictions on the use of a camera were so drastic that few photographs could be taken even of scenic places.

What were the reasons for this unusual emphasis upon secrecy? Were the Japanese afraid of sabotage, or were they engaged in activities that they wanted to hide from the view of foreigners? It was the opinion of many at that time that the Japanese were unduly nervous and that they were perhaps afflicted with "spyitis." Few suspected that the real reason was a turning of the productive capacity of the whole nation in the direction of war materials. If the American public had been better informed about the actual situation in Japan, we might have realized more fully that military influences were in the ascendancy and that the country was really on a war footing, although there were few visible evidences that peace was soon to be broken.

It is unfortunate that the American people awoke so slowly

to the danger of a Japanese attack. The past military record and ambitions of Japan were before us, but they aroused no serious fears for ourselves. So confident were we of our naval strength and of the immense resources of our nation that our government was not able to secure united support of a defense program for the Pacific area until after the attack on Pearl Harbor.

Now, while doing everything possible to make up past deficiencies, steps might well be taken to gain a better understanding of the military background and nature of the Japanese nation. Through such study we may have a clearer idea of the kind of warfare that we must be prepared to resist and the amount of suffering the Japanese will endure before they will acknowledge defeat. Should our Pacific coast cities be prepared to withstand gas attacks? What treatment will likely be given to captured American soldiers? What has been the behavior of Japanese soldiers in their conquered territories? Are Japanese soldiers more courageous in battle than soldiers of other nations? Do Japanese soldiers surrender when overcome by their foes? Is Japan basically a military nation with such deep-rooted traditions of war that the nation wholeheartedly responds to the call to arms?

A few years ago, General Sadao Araki, then Minister of War, stated frankly: "We have no hesitation in declaring that we are a military nation. It is very annoying to have our army spoken of in the same breath with the armies of other powers." This proud statement by one of Japan's modern war lords made it clearly evident that militarists were again in the saddle, fully prepared and eager to launch their ambitious plans for world conquest. After nearly a century of incessant struggle to modernize their nation and place themselves on a parity with western powers, they were at last ready for their long planned rendezvous with destiny.

The recent boastful assertions of their superior fighting ability are strikingly similar to the presumptuous challenge issued by feudal Japan's greatest war lord, Hideyoshi, when he decided to embark on his campaign against Korea and China 350 years ago. "I will assemble a mighty host, and, invading the country of the great Ming, I will fill with the hoar frost from my sword the whole sky over the four hundred provinces." The conquest of these countries, he said, would be brought about "as easily as a man rolls up a piece of matting and carries it under his arm." Hideyoshi's dreams of empire extended even farther afield, and, without waiting to see the issue of his battle on the mainland, he sent letters to the Spanish governor of Manila stating that he would dispatch an armed expedition to the Philippines because of the failure to send tribute to Japan. At the same time he forwarded a communication to the Portuguese viceroy in India warning him that Japan's war vessels manned by fighting men would be sent against him as soon as China was conquered.

These ambitious efforts to extend Japan's dominions abroad were brought to a close by Hideyoshi's death in 1598 after a seven years' war which ravaged Korea and nearly destroyed its civilization. The recall of the Japanese expeditionary force and their decision shortly afterward to adopt the policy of national seclusion postponed until the modern era the revival of Hideyoshi's policy of foreign expansion. With the rise to power of the present-day militarists, this mediaeval pattern of military conquest abroad has again become the policy of the nation. Believing that all can be made to bend to their iron will, the war lords now in control have plunged the whole Pacific area into the most devastating war in all its history.

This development of modern Japan into a great military nation is by no means a new departure. The whole history of old Japan is filled with the clash of arms. For centuries feuds

between rival clans brought confusion and chaos to the entire country. It was not until the Tokugawas came into power at the beginning of the seventeenth century that these destructive civil wars came to an end. But even during the 250 years of their rule the relative peace that prevailed was made possible by the strong arm of their military power. Petty chiefs in remote provinces still fought one another upon slight provocation, and so hostile were the various clans that social intercourse and trade relations among them were almost negligible. Each province remained isolated from the others to such a degree that when the country was united at the time of the Restoration the people in different regions could with difficulty understand the varied dialects.

This dominance of militarism during the mediaeval period was unavoidable under the conditions that prevailed during that time. The country was ruled by a succession of military dictators whose power rested upon their fighting strength. The samurai, who were the professional soldiers of that day, were supported by the lords in whose service they fought and were given a higher status than farmers, artisans, and merchants. Military virtues were those most highly valued and political preferment came to those successful in war.

When Japan entered into the modern era, one of the first tasks was the building of a strong army and navy. The old institution of the samurai was abolished and a plan of universal conscription for military service was adopted. Young men from the ranks of the common people were for the first time permitted to join the fighting forces, a highly appreciated honor, which did much to break down the old class distinctions and give greater unity to the nation. Under the direction of military experts from Europe, the new military system rapidly grew in strength until it became the most powerful fighting machine in the Far East.

The present stranglehold of militarism upon Japan during the past decade has been made possible by the fact that the army and navy are not subject to the civil authorities. The military system owes allegiance only to the Emperor and bows only to his will. The high military leaders always have direct access to the Throne, a privilege which enables them in an emergency to determine their own policies without submitting them to the government for approval. Under the Constitution, only a general can become a Minister of War and an admiral a Minister of the Navy, and both of these members of the Imperial cabinet are under the authority of the Emperor rather than that of the Prime Minister. The army and the navy never consider themselves bound by military agreements which the government may make with other countries. The efforts of the Foreign Office to settle peacefully international problems may suddenly be interrupted by an act of war initiated by the armed forces, if they feel that the time is ripe for attack.

Well known examples of this method of control were the occupation of Manchuria in 1931 and the undeclared war on China in 1937, both of which grew out of so-called incidents deliberately created by the Japanese army to justify their further military aggression. On these occasions the army officers acted with supreme confidence in their ability to determine the course of national policy. The military leaders could afford to ignore the objections of the Diet since it had no power to determine issues of war and peace. The criticism of the public could quickly be silenced by letting it be known that their action had been taken to safeguard the interests of the Throne. Because of their large degree of freedom from government control, the army and navy have been in a peculiarly advantageous position to build up their political power and assume leadership in national affairs.

Just as in feudal times the military aristocracy outranked all

except the Imperial Court and maintained a military dictatorship, so now the combined forces of the army and navy have at least temporarily destroyed parliamentary government and rule the country with blood and iron. Under this military leadership, strengthened by the widely influential patriotic societies and other reactionary groups, the traditional pride of the Japanese in the military exploits of the samurai of old Japan has found a wider field for its expression in the achievements of the Imperial forces abroad. To a far greater extent than even in the past, the glorification of war stands out as a prominent trait of the Japanese nation. A Ministry of War pamphlet published in 1934 declared: "War is the father of creation and the mother of culture. Rivalry for supremacy does for the State what struggling against adversity does for the individual."

All through the 1930's the Japanese military leaders knew that their plans and policies were leading to a clash with western powers, and they hastened their war preparations by mobilizing the full strength of their nation. While the moment when the war machine would strike was carefully concealed, they were frank and outspoken in their denunciations of those they regarded as their enemies. "Great Britain is in the twilight," declared Lieutenant Fujita, "and an Anglo-Japanese war will lead to Great Britain's self-destruction."

General Sato predicted war with America in these words: "American designs threaten our existence, the future of our country, and our posterity. If we do not thwart those designs now, we cannot die in peace.—A Japan-American war is inevitable.—We emphatically declare that America is our open and immediate enemy."

General Araki expressed his attitude toward Russia in these scathing terms: "Japan must defend herself against those wolves which are sharpening their fangs, and castaway cats

showing their teeth for attack.—In one way or another, sooner or later, Russia must be destroyed."

However much we may emphasize the duplicity of the Japanese, their military leaders have not in recent years attempted to conceal their far-reaching plans for world conquest. In season and out of season and in the most emphatic terms they denounced their enemies and boldly proclaimed the inevitability of war, all the while making the most careful preparations for the military campaigns they were about to launch.

Not only have the Japanese now in power deliberately initiated wars of aggression, but they are also characterized by the indifference to suffering and resort to brutal methods that were common during the feudal era in Japan. The public infliction of torture upon suspected criminals by Japanese officials was not legally abolished until 1877. Infanticide as a means of limiting the size of families was common practice until the beginning of the modern era. In old Japan custom permitted the samurai to test their swords or avenge a fancied insult by cutting down a member of the lower classes, a beggar, a farmer, or a merchant whom they might chance to meet upon the highway. Cruelties of this kind indicate a callousness to human suffering, a trait which has again come to the front in their brutal treatment of Chinese civilians as well as in their methods of warfare.

The behavior of the Japanese soldiers in their attacks upon the Chinese reveals a willingness to resort to any means to accomplish their ends without regard to the dictates of humanity or to the rules prescribed by international law. Shortly after their first attack on Shanghai in August 1937, indiscriminate bombing of urban residential areas took place not merely in Shanghai but in Nanking and in many other cities. In these raids the Japanese aircraft frequently flew low over cities and

machine-gunned the inhabitants. So extensive were these air attacks on non-military objectives that according to the *China Weekly Review* in its issue of June 22, 1940, the casualties to that date numbered 51,000 civilians killed and 65,000 wounded.

Indisputable evidence also proves their extensive use of poison gas in many of their battles against Chinese armies. Between July 1937 and June 1941 there were 876 gas attacks by the Japanese forces in China. When the Japanese made their first use of this weapon in their attack upon Shanghai in 1937, tear gas was employed. Beginning in 1938, they have used asphyxiating and lethal gases with such deadly effect that in many instances Chinese resistance was entirely crushed.

The world became familiar with the brutalities of Japanese soldiers in Nanking through the accounts of foreigners who remained in that city during and after its conquest and occupation. According to careful estimates made by American observers, approximately 40,000 unarmed persons were killed and 20,000 women raped. Many of the buildings in the city were robbed by soldiers, including the various embassies, mission homes, and a large percentage of foreign property. Stores and shops were systematically stripped of their goods and machinery by soldiers working with trucks often under the direction of officers. Less widely publicized in the American press was the similar fate suffered by many less important cities where murder, robbery, pillage, and rape marked the entrance of the Japanese army.

While it is widely recognized that immorality is a problem in any army, the rape of Chinese women by Japanese soldiers in Nanking and wherever their conquering forces have gone reveals in a shocking manner their utter disregard of human rights and common decency. Since this conduct was obviously permitted by those in authority, it is a striking

commentary upon the moral code of the Japanese militarists and makes clear the perils their victims face when their armies invade foreign territory.

When we consider the outrages of Japanese soldiers after their conquest of Chinese cities, the question arises whether they were the result of troops running wild in the heat of victory or whether they were a part of a deliberate policy of terrorism designed to break the morale of the Chinese people. That the latter was the case seems a reasonable conclusion in view of the fact that the disorderly behavior of the Japanese soldiers in Nanking continued more than three months after their occupation of the city. Additional evidence supporting this point of view appears also in the unnecessary destruction of Chinese fishing junks by Japanese naval vessels. These junks, which obviously served no military purpose, were ordered to come alongside, their cargo transferred, if of any value, and then were set on fire leaving their crews to perish either in the flames or in the sea.

With the recent spread of the war throughout the entire Far East, the world has been awaiting information concerning the behavior of Japanese soldiers as they occupied conquered territory in various places. Under the circumstances, it is extremely difficult to learn about the fate of either the soldiers or the civilians who have fallen into the hands of the Japanese forces. The first official statement that throws light on this point was made by Anthony Eden, England's Foreign Secretary, in his report on March 10, 1942, to the House of Commons.

"His Majesty's government," said Mr. Eden, "now are in possession of statements by reliable eyewitnesses, who succeeded in escaping from Hongkong toward the end of January or early in February. Their testimony established the fact that the Japanese army at Hongkong perpetrated against their helpless military prisoners and civil population without dis-

tinction of race or color the same kind of barbarities which aroused the horror of the civilized world at the time of the Nanking massacre in 1937.

"It is known that 50 officers and men of the British were bound hand and foot and then bayoneted to death. It is known that ten days after the capitulation, wounded were still being collected from the hills and the Japanese were refusing permission to bury the dead. It is known that women, both Asiatic and European, were raped and murdered and that one entire Chinese district was declared a brothel regardless of status of inhabitants. . . .

"There is some reason to believe that conditions have been slightly improved since the date on which the eyewitnesses whom I have quoted escaped, but the Japanese government have refused their consent to a visit to Hongkong of a representative of the protecting power and no permission has yet been granted for such a visit by representatives of the International Red Cross Committee. They have in fact announced that they require all foreign consuls to withdraw from all territories they have invaded since the outbreak of the war. It is clear that their treatment of prisoners and civilians will not bear independent investigation."

To the western mind, this inhumanity of the Japanese soldiers seems peculiarly inappropriate for persons of a superior race who proudly boast of their divine lineage. Such behavior would appear to be evidence of barbaric rather than of divine origin. Their barbarities in China follow the pattern of similar atrocities during the civil wars of their early history when cruel treatment was so common that suicide was preferred to capture. If prisoners were taken it was only a prelude to their ruthless slaughter. A victorious battle ended frequently with a massacre which included civilians as well as the conquered soldiers. In the historic defeat of the Taira clan in the twelfth

century, "the sea was red with Taira blood, and after the battle every member or adherent of the family that could be found, men, women or children, high and low without distinction, were mercilessly slain, women only being spared to be placed in the public brothels, gently bred ladies of the Court and kitchen-wenches alike."

Early Japanese history is filled with many other examples of their barbarity. One hundred and fifty years after the Taira defeat, following the battle which destroyed the power of the Hojo regents, their capital city "was committed to the flames and destroyed. No mercy was shown. Men, women and children all alike were pitilessly slaughtered and the Hojo and their adherents exterminated." During Hideyoshi's war against Korea and China in the sixteenth century, the ears and noses of 38,700 enemy heads were cut off and sent to Kyoto where they were buried in the famous Mimidzuka (Mound of Ears) near a Buddhist temple.

The Japanese army's recent revival of this mediaeval pattern of cruel treatment of conquered foes may be in part a logical outcome of the efforts of the reactionary leaders to repudiate western culture and restore the ways of old Japan. The deification of their old military heroes and pride in even their most bloodthirsty exploits lead almost inevitably, under the stress of war emotions, to a desire to emulate their deeds. The deliberate turning of the Japanese nation toward what the militarists regard as their glorious past means a revival of the vices as well as the virtues of earlier times. In their determination to strike terror into the hearts of their foes, they have readily reverted to the military practices of their ancestors regardless of the opinion of the outside world.

Some prefer to find an explanation of their recent atrocities in their accumulated feelings of bitterness growing out of the ill-concealed assumptions of superiority by the Chinese as well

as by the people of western countries during Japan's hard struggle to win recognition in the modern world. It is well known that the Chinese have long looked with contempt upon the dwarfs from the islands of Japan. In a public statement by General Araki a few years ago, he said that their real quarrel with the Chinese was not over economic or political questions. The fundamental reason why the Japanese launched their attack was that China had insulted Japan. And he added these significant words: "Not only China but almost the entire world looks slightingly at the Japanese nation." Now the fortunes of war have at last brought to the Japanese their day of retaliation. The massacre at Nanking and the outrages at Hongkong may very well be expressions of their hostility toward people of baser breeds who had dared to look down upon the Japanese as an inferior race.

But their brutal conduct in the present war cannot be explained wholly by the desire for revenge. Cruel treatment of conquered peoples has long been their generally adopted method of keeping them in a state of subjection. Their past conquests, whether in Formosa, Korea, or Manchuria, have been followed by harsh subjugation and exploitation of the native peoples. Wherever the Japanese armed forces have gained control, the natives have suffered from the rapacity and extortions of their conquerors. There can be no doubt that the much vaunted co-prosperity sphere to be set up in eastern Asia is designed to bring prosperity primarily to the Japanese.

During their earlier wars of this modern era, the Japanese armies, however savage in their fighting on the field of battle, were eager for the good opinion of the western world and were careful not to violate the international regulations observed in western warfare. But in the present struggle this check on the behavior of the Japanese soldiers no longer obtains. Convinced of their ultimate victory, they are not con-

cerned with the western standards by which nations are judged. What have they to fear from the criticism of white peoples whose prestige is already declining as they lose their foothold in the Far East? Those bold enough to oppose the onward march of the Japanese legions must be thrust aside regardless of their suffering and make way for the new world order which they believe is about to be established.

This reversion of the Japanese to the inhumanities of earlier times has been made clear by the eye-witness reports of Americans marooned in Japan at the time of the attack on Pearl Harbor and returned to this country on the exchange liner *Gripsholm* after six months' detention in Japanese prisons and concentration camps. Missionaries, business men, and newspaper correspondents were treated as criminals and subjected to barbarities on such a wide scale that they cannot be laid at the door of unscrupulous police officials acting on their authority alone. These brutalities, suffered by men and women alike, and vouched for by witnesses whose testimony cannot be impeached, stand forth as a blot upon the Japanese nation and reveal to the world not merely how great is their hatred of foreigners but also how thin is the veneer of modern civilization which they have so proudly displayed to the western world.

The long list of brutalities makes unpleasant reading—insufficient food, lack of medical attendance, confinement in vermin-infested and unheated cells with clothing and bedding entirely inadequate for protection against the cold of winter, subjected to such tortures as "the water cure," beatings with rubber hose, hanging head downwards, compelled to squat on the floor until the pain became unendurable, and continually threatened with worse tortures and immediate death if they would not confess to crimes of espionage of which they were falsely accused. The news that has filtered through from the

Far East of their treatment of enemy aliens, whether oriental or occidental, gives evidence of a set purpose to gain ascendancy through terroristic methods and instill fear in the hearts of those who fall into their hands.

What is new in these recent exhibitions of barbaric cruelty is the inclusion of white people among their victims. The long continued inhuman treatment of their subject peoples is a well known characteristic of their colonial policy, a trait of Japanese officialdom to which the western world should have given more careful thought as Japan grew in power and expanded her dominions. Now the Japanese at long last feel free to vent their spleen against the "white barbarians" and drive them relentlessly out of the Far East. Through systematic torture and a widespread policy of terrorization the Japanese seek to establish their rule throughout Asia and make their name feared among the nations of the West.

This inhumanity and cruelty which make the Japanese soldier such a ruthless foe is paralleled by his courageous facing of death as he goes forth to battle. The samurai of olden days always stood ready and willing to sacrifice himself for the sake of his lord. In modern times the soldier is proud of the privilege of bearing arms and counts it a high honor to give up his life in the service of Emperor and country. His readiness to die for his native land has been compared by a Japanese writer to the ants in the mountains of western Japan which mass themselves around a fire and extinguish it with their burning bodies rather than suffer their nests to be destroyed. Trained from childhood in a philosophy of life that places the welfare of the group far above the desires and rights of the individual, the Japanese soldier readily responds to the rigid demands of army discipline and carries out the orders of his superiors even in the face of certain death. Driven forward by a fanatical devotion to the Emperor and upheld by

the conviction that his fate is in the hands of the gods, he has proven to be a dangerous foe difficult to conquer on the field of battle.

While all nations delight in honoring their military heroes, it is in Japan that the brave deeds of warriors receive the highest adulation. The victorious assault on Port Arthur during the Russo-Japanese war, marked by an excessive loss of life as wave after wave of Japanese troops stormed this Russian stronghold, was commemorated in a volume (Nikudan, Human Bullets) which gained such wide popularity that it had a sale of half a million copies. When the Japanese forces in their attack on Shanghai in 1932 were unable to penetrate barbed wire entanglements behind which Chinese soldiers were entrenched, three Japanese soldiers tied bombs to their bodies, and at the sacrifice of their lives made an opening for their troops. The publication of this exploit in the Japanese press roused the nation to a high pitch of enthusiasm. It became the subject of popular dramas, songs of praise for the three heroes were written, and a large statue bearing the inscription, "Three Human Bombs," was erected near Shiba Park in Tokyo.

Japan's history is filled with similar accounts of great military exploits which have become a part of the popular folklore of the people. Heroic self-sacrifice on the altar of one's country is looked upon as one of the greatest virtues and always commands universal admiration. The Japanese nation, which idolizes its military heroes, has set standards for their brave conduct which go far beyond what is expected of soldiers in western countries. To be taken prisoner is a disgrace for even a private soldier, and for an officer it is a point of honor never to be captured alive. Before falling into the hands of the enemy, he must commit harakiri and then the dishonor of defeat is avoided. In the fighting at Shanghai in 1932 a young

Japanese officer, helplessly wounded, was captured by Chinese soldiers and taken to a hospital. As soon as his recovery was complete, he wrote a letter to his superiors in which he apologized for his failure to prevent his capture and then committed suicide to atone for his fault. This sacrifice of his life, which under the circumstances went far beyond the strict requirements of the Japanese military code, brought great honor to his name, and his deed was praised as an example of the highest military virtue.

The glorification of the way of the warrior reaches its culmination in the official as well as popular recognition of the deification of those who die in battle. Twice each year at officially established Shinto shrines, one of the most famous of which is the Yasukuni shrine in Tokyo, elaborate ceremonies are held in honor of Japan's war dead, which carry a deeper meaning to the people than mere memorial services. The gods to be worshipped on these occasions are the souls of those who have given their lives in service of the Emperor. The humblest soldiers as well as the greatest military heroes share in this honor. If through the fortunes of war they fall in battle, they are upheld by faith in their glorious destiny. "Until we meet at Yasukuni," a common salutation among soldiers, is an indication of the wide acceptance of this belief that a soldier's death is an honor to be sought rather than a fate to be avoided.

Thus, supported by centuries of military traditions and strengthened by all the devices of religion, education, and propaganda, military despotism has fastened its tentacles so securely upon the nation that they cannot for the present be shaken off. For many years an increasingly powerful military group deliberately made plans for the day when their imperialistic ambitions could be realized by the power of the sword. This reactionary group dominated by ambitious war lords has

now adopted not merely a policy of military aggression; it has revived the cruel barbarities of mediaeval times as a means of terrorizing its enemies and forcing them into subjection. As a result of this unfortunate leadership, the whole nation has become brutalized. Not merely does the army tarnish its reputation with indiscriminate mass murders, but the civilian population exploits the conquered peoples and seeks wealth for itself through unjust privilege and economic monopoly. There can be no peace in the Pacific until the military despotism in Japan is driven to cover by the combined might of the United Nations.

5

THE MODERN QUEST FOR KNOWLEDGE

THE SUPREME CONFIDENCE OF THE JAPANESE in their ability to bring the entire Far East under their control and at the same time wage a successful war against both America and England indicates that in their opinion they have mastered the essential aspects of western knowledge and have even surpassed their former teachers in technological achievements. There is no doubt that Japan's rapid adoption of the scientific discoveries and inventions of western nations without seriously impairing her traditional folk and racial culture stands out as one of the most dramatic examples of the successful impact of one civilization upon another. How tragic it is that the culmination of this remarkable achievement should be a bold attempt by the Japanese to utilize their new world of technology in expanding their Empire through foreign conquests!

The initial successes of the Japanese in the present war have raised many questions about their scientific attainments and intellectual capacity. Have the Japanese sufficient mechanical skill to enable them to compete with western technicians? Are their research laboratories able to keep pace with the discoveries of scholars in western countries? Was the Japanese practice of sending many of the best students abroad to engage in advanced study necessitated by the inferior status of their technical schools and universities? Are the Japanese a widely literate people, or are educational opportunities limited

to favored classes? To what extent is educational progress in Japan handicapped by the necessity of acquiring a difficult written language? Answers to these and similar questions will give us a better understanding of the intellectual resources and attainments at their disposal in the war that is now upon us.

When the Japanese emerged from their mediaeval seclusion, they both astonished and pleased the West by their eagerness to study western civilization. They assumed the attitude of pupils and set themselves diligently to the task of acquiring the knowledge in which they were deficient. Flattered by our role as teacher, we looked upon them condescendingly and took a certain pride in their progress. We recognized their ability and capacity for hard work, but felt quite sure that their attainments would always fall short of our own. In the opinion of many American writers the Japanese lacked the capacity to go ahead on their own initiative and make new contributions to knowledge. It never occurred to us that their adaptations of western inventions and discoveries would enable them eventually to challenge the leadership of western nations.

It is surprising how tenaciously we have persisted in our old beliefs that the Japanese lack the ability to compete with the West on equal terms. They may be able to build battleships, but we are quite sure that ours surpass theirs in fighting power. Until the outbreak of the present war we spoke slightingly of their ability as airplane pilots, and assumed as a matter of course that any superior airplanes in their possession were purchased abroad. Their strange customs were regarded as evidence of their inferiority. Their shortcomings arising from poverty of resources were often looked upon as racial characteristics. We are still inclined to profess astonishment when we hear of Japanese scientists whose work entitles them to international distinction.

This tendency to underestimate the intellectual ability of

the Japanese might have been avoided if we had consulted the records made by the American-born children of Japanese immigrants in our schools and universities. In one of Seattle's high schools, one-fourth of the twenty class speakers at the graduating exercises during the past ten years have been Americans of Japanese ancestry who comprise approximately only one-tenth of the whole student body. Moreover, in proportion to numbers, the Japanese-Americans have had more than three times their quota on the honor roll of this school. A similar record of intellectual achievement has been made at the University of Washington where the Japanese-American honor group in proportion to numbers is between two and three times larger than the honor group made up of white American students. These attainments in scholarship appear all the more remarkable since these young people sprang from immigrant families of low social and economic status, not at all representative of the Japanese upper classes from which most of their national leaders are drawn. No doubt, these Japanese-American students work hard and take their studies seriously in order to compensate as far as possible for the discrimination against them when they apply for jobs. Nevertheless, their good record in the field of scholarship provides excellent evidence that inferior intellectual capacity is not a part of the racial heritage of the Japanese.

While the Japanese in their first contacts with the modern western world were no doubt dismayed to discover how far they had fallen behind during their centuries of seclusion, they never doubted their ability to equal the achievements of other nations. At the time of his accession to the throne in 1868, Emperor Meiji laid the foundation for a new educational policy in these words: "Knowledge shall be sought for throughout the world, so that the welfare of the empire may be promoted." A commission that had been sent abroad a few years

previously to find out the secrets of western progress returned with the recommendation that a comprehensive educational system be established throughout the entire country. The French plan of organization and administration was at first adopted, but later Dr. David Murray of Rutgers College was appointed adviser to the Imperial Minister of Education, and under his direction American patterns were followed in the development of their schools and universities. As time went on, the more conservative Japanese leaders objected to the American emphasis upon individuality and democracy, and German educators were brought in to introduce Prussian ideals and practices which seemed to fit in better with the Japanese bureaucratic government.

This decision to build up a comprehensive educational system was a revolutionary break with the past. During the later mediaeval period the lamp of knowledge burned dimly and the mass of the people were illiterate. At some of the Buddhist temples schools were maintained for children of the upper classes, but their curriculum was largely limited to the Chinese classics. Mediaeval Japan was far behind mediaeval Europe in its educational attainments. Few scholars of eminence were produced. The samurai were taught the arts of war while the skilled workers handed down their practical knowledge of craftsmanship through the apprenticeship methods. Those needed in the service of the state attended private schools long enough to acquire proficiency in reading and writing and other elementary subjects. In old Japan the past was worshipped and the goal of education was to bring about conformity to old customs and traditions. This heritage of idealization of the past handicapped the development of Japan's modern educational system and is still one of the factors that have made it possible for present-day Japan to fall again into the clutches of reactionary leaders.

A policy insisted upon by the Japanese government from the beginning of the modern era was to send students abroad for their education so that their schools and universities would not be dependent upon foreign teachers except as language instructors. They recognized the values inherent in western civilization but were determined, if possible, to prevent the introduction of foreign ideas and methods incompatible with Japanese traditions. One of the problems they faced was how to indoctrinate their youth with western learning without breaking down their faith in the myths and traditions of old Japan. A central feature of their educational program from the primary school through the university has been the inculcation of loyalty to Emperor and native land. Science and history must be taught in such a way as not to undermine belief in the divine origin of the Imperial line. Any doubts concerning the validity of ancient myths are rigorously suppressed as dangerous thoughts.

One of the objectives of Japanese education is to mold all pupils into the pattern prescribed by the state. They are taught subservience to authority and grateful acceptance of the rights granted them by an authoritarian government. Independent thought is encouraged only in the fields of science and technology. In their educational system there is no place for free and open discussion of social, economic, and political problems. During the past two decades many hundreds of teachers and students have been thrown into prison because they dared to express or were suspected of holding ideas that were disapproved by the government.

In order to prevent divergence from this plan of education, a highly centralized system of control has been established. Everything connected with the whole educational system falls within the jurisdiction of the National Department of Education which rigidly enforces its detailed regulations. Entrance

requirements, tuition fees, program of study, textbooks, hours of instruction, qualifications of teachers, and similar matters are not merely controlled by the central government but as far as possible are standardized in conformity with uniform policies and principles. Government schools have the highest status and attendance at them is a privilege eagerly sought. Private schools must also conform to government regulations in order to get official recognition necessary for their continued existence. Even foreign mission schools have been required to adopt the standard curriculum from which religious instruction is strictly excluded.

The enforcement of the government's educational policies and requirements has been brought about by means of a most comprehensive system of inspection. In the school in which I taught in one of the provincial cities, we were required to preserve all examination questions and answers until official inspectors from the central government had satisfied themselves that instruction was going forward along approved lines. This inspection of examinations was carried out with amazing thoroughness and made it practically impossible for schools to evade official requirements as to the content of the curriculum.

Governmental control of education with its emphasis upon standardization and uniformity is made more complete by restrictions upon admission to all government schools above the elementary grades. Only the primary schools have sufficient facilities to accommodate all those seeking an education. Those desiring more than elementary training must pass an examination before they can be admitted to a secondary school. The vast majority of Japanese youth make no effort to continue their schooling beyond the primary grades. At approximately 12 to 14 years of age many drop out of school either because of the pressure of poverty or through a realization of their inability to measure up to academic standards. Of those taking

examination for entrance into secondary schools, only about one-fourth are successful in securing admission. Such a large percentage of failures is made inevitable by lack of sufficient schools to accommodate all those competent to go ahead with their education. Those who complete their secondary education face another competitive examination if they desire to enter college or secure professional training in a medical or technical school. Only about half of the high school graduates are permitted to continue their education in a college of their choice. In some of the professional schools only one applicant out of ten or twelve is successful in securing admission.

The failure of the Japanese government to provide adequate facilities for higher education finds its chief justification in the already overcrowded professions and in the limited opportunities for employment of college graduates. In 1935 it was reported that less than one-half of the 33,690 graduates of 124 colleges and universities were able to find employment in positions for which they had been trained. While this situation may justify restrictions upon entrance to universities and professional schools, it fails to explain the inadequate provisions for secondary education. However much the Japanese may boast of their educational system, the fact remains that, beyond the primary level, education is possible for only a minority of their youth.

Where the competitive struggle for admission to schools is so keen it is difficult to prevent favoritism and corruption from playing a part in selecting successful applicants. It is well known that the school authorities are careful not to admit students suspected of unwillingness to conform to established traditions. Social discrimination is also a factor especially in certain secondary schools whose clientele comes largely from the upper classes of society. There are high schools from which graduation brings almost complete assurance of entrance into

a college or a professional school. Corrupt practices in administering the entrance examinations are not infrequent. Teachers have been arrested for selling examination questions to students and there is evidence that it is a frequent custom to make appropriate presents to those in charge of the examinations.

Apart from the evils growing out of bribery and favoritism, this necessity of undergoing sharply competitive examinations upon which the whole future career depends brings disappointments and hardships to students almost too great to be borne. The unavoidable custom of cramming for entrance examinations means long hours of study which sometimes result in nervous breakdowns. Japanese critics of this phase of their educational system have often pointed out that thousands of disappointed aspirants for university education turn readily to radicalism since they see no hope for their future in the existing economic and political system.

It is hard to exaggerate the sufferings of the many thousands of young men who realize after years of long and hard study that their hopes for a professional career are blasted. For many of them death seems to be the only way of escape from an intolerable situation. The suicide of many students each year because of failure to pass entrance examinations to higher schools is one of the tragic aspects of Japan's educational system.

There are few countries where education is more eagerly sought than in Japan. Perhaps the difficulties of admission to high schools and universities give greater prestige to student status and make people prize more highly opportunities for learning. Or what is more important, the door of entrance into highly desired government positions opens only to those who have received the requisite amount of schooling. Poor parents make many sacrifices to send a favored son to college,

and the students themselves, urged forward by the necessity of passing the competitive examinations, study early and late, often to the detriment of their health.

As far as the mass of the people is concerned, the Japanese government is satisfied when the elementary school education is completed. Every local community is obligated to provide an elementary school comprising six grades, and attendance is compulsory for children from six to twelve years of age. The local school authorities have the option, if funds are available, to extend the curriculum two or three years, and those who take advantage of this additional schooling are required to pay a small fee. The village elementary school is usually the finest building in the community, and compulsory attendance is no problem except among families severely handicapped by poverty.

Higher education in Japan is primarily of utilitarian rather than of cultural importance. Those who are given opportunity to continue their education beyond the elementary grades are being trained for specialized and technical services required by the nation. The technical schools and universities provided for this purpose have high standards of scholarship, and both in equipment and in quality of instruction compare favorably with similar institutions in America and Europe. Japanese students are not sent abroad because their institutions are inferior; they seek opportunities to enter foreign universities for the same reasons that formerly impelled American students to study in Europe. The Japanese government has long followed the policy of sending a sufficient number of the best students abroad to enable the nation to keep abreast of every advance in the whole field of knowledge.

The opinion has been advanced that Japan's educational policies are a direct outgrowth of economic limitations and represent an attempt to adjust educational expenditures to the

capacity of the country to meet them. Such an explanation may have had considerable validity a generation or more ago when the first institutions of higher learning were being established. But in more recent years it has been increasingly clear that the resources of Japan have been more and more requisitioned for building up the military strength of the nation. The recent policy has been to build battleships rather than colleges and universities. The tens of thousands of Japanese youth clamoring in vain for admission to educational institutions of their choice have brought about no important changes in educational policies. In the educational system as well as in other aspects of Japanese life, the interests of the State take precedence over the needs and rights of the individual.

The life of a Japanese student is a serious and somewhat drab affair. Thirty hours a week spread over six days must be spent in the classroom or parade ground. The time available for study must be used in poring over textbooks and lecture notes at his home or place of lodging where privacy and facilities for intellectual work are seldom found. School and college libraries exist primarily for the teachers, and the student is not encouraged either to go to the library for study or to read widely in order to broaden his knowledge. His knowledge must be obtained from textbooks and lectures—a method of learning which lays a heavy burden upon memory and gives little incentive to the development of reasoning powers. Custom decrees that he must live as far as possible with Spartan simplicity, gaining endurance through privations which must be cheerfully borne. Social life of the kind that makes student days attractive in America is entirely taboo. Government regulations prevent relaxation during a week-end in a café or tea house or similar place of amusement. Attired in his prescribed school uniform and wearing on his cap the insignia of

his school, he goes through his daily, monotonous round of living, proud of his status as a student, and occasionally going on a strike or staging protest meetings against some fancied or actual injustice he has suffered.

One of his chief barriers to rapid intellectual progress is the necessity of mastering the ideographs used in the written language. His first six years in the primary school are given over largely to the task of learning to read and write about two thousand Chinese characters. If his education stops here, he is still unable to read with any great facility unless he confines himself to publications which print the native syllabary alongside the characters as an aid to immature students. As he goes through high school and college, he must continually enlarge his knowledge of ideographs until he has thorough familiarity with at least four thousand. Whenever a western student takes up a new subject, he must add new terms to his vocabulary, but the Japanese student faces a far more difficult problem for he must learn to read and write the new ideographs that are constantly coming to his attention. Since a properly equipped printing establishment must keep on hand between six and nine thousand ideographs, few people ever acquire such thorough knowledge of the language that further study is not required.

The memorization of these characters demands much time and patience for they are written in at least two ways, ordinarily have several different readings, and many of them are so complicated that they consist of more than 20 strokes. Not all Japanese have good memories and those who are deficient in this respect are likely to drop out at an early age. It is a common experience for persons whose schooling has not gone beyond the primary grades to forget the characters they have learned unless they spend considerable time in reading. Recent examinations of young men entering military service

revealed a great deal of illiteracy although all had completed the six years of compulsory schooling. Illiteracy in Japan would be much more of a problem were it not for the widespread custom of printing the syllabary alongside the characters in newspapers and books intended for popular use. Large numbers of people can listen understandingly to speeches on political topics which they would be unable to read because they have forgotten too many ideographs. It is this fact which has made radio such an important medium for propaganda disseminated by the government.

Since the use of ideographs imposes such a heavy burden upon each new generation of students, the question is frequently asked why the Japanese do not free themselves from such a laborious and complicated system of writing. A people so willing to borrow from other civilizations might be expected to simplify the task of reading and writing by adopting a simpler set of symbols. Such a reform would not even have necessitated any borrowing from abroad for all Japanese words can easily be written in the native syllabary, invented centuries ago, consisting of 47 simple characters that can be increased to 68 sounds by the use of diacritical marks. The difficulty is that the language has so many homonyms which become extremely confusing unless the ideograph is available to indicate the meaning. There are, for example, more than 20 different ideographs pronounced *so* and more than 50 pronounced *ko,* all of course representing a different thing or idea. Many words comprising two or more characters may have one pronunciation but a wide variety of meanings. The common word *kosho* is written with at least 25 different combinations of ideagraphs, and in each case its meaning can be determined only by the context or by a knowledge of the characters. It is interesting to see educated Japanese engaged in conversation occasionally indicating the precise meaning of a word by

writing a character in the air by swift movements of a finger.

The Japanese language can also be written fairly accurately with roman letters, but here also the problem of homonyms is encountered. Societies advocating the adoption of the alphabet used by western nations have been in existence for many years but they have gained very little public support. Basic changes in a language come about slowly over a long period of time and are an outgrowth of popular usage that develops naturally and for the most part without the people being aware of it. To change important features of a language suddenly by government fiat would bring a great strain even on the most powerful totalitarian state. In our own language we have long resisted even such small improvements as a more simplified spelling of certain words.

The sentimental attachment of the Japanese to their traditional method of writing, which has been in vogue for more than a thousand years, is too great to make possible any fundamental changes at the present time. They prefer to have each generation go through with the tremendous task of learning thousands of characters no matter how great the price in time and energy. The fact that their students do overcome this barrier to learning so successfully speaks well both for their intellectual capacity and for their willingness to work.

In spite of the difficulties that confront Japanese youth in their search for knowledge, it is not an exaggeration to say that the Japanese are a nation of readers. Newspapers, magazines, and books are published in great quantities. Two of the so-called Big Five newspapers have a circulation of 1,500,000 copies daily. At least 20,000 original books are published annually besides seven or eight thousand translations of foreign volumes. There are streets in both Tokyo and Osaka lined with bookshops for a considerable distance. In the vicinity of col-

leges and universities there will ordinarily be found a large number of small bookstores specializing not merely in textbooks but in foreign books in the original as well as in translation. A few years ago rival publishing houses brought out cheap editions of translations of western classics, both ancient and modern, which included such authors as Homer, Virgil, Shakespeare, Dante, Goethe, Carlyle, Emerson and many others. One of these series had a sale of 300,000 copies while another sold 400,000. The translator of Les Miserables received a royalty of $50,000. This eagerness to get acquainted with foreign literature and foreign ideas has been one of the characteristic traits of the people during recent years. The reactionary government has sought to revive the ideals and traditions of old Japan, but the people have continued to manifest an extraordinary interest in the modern world abroad and read avidly the foreign books that fall into their hands. The quest for knowledge throughout the world, which Emperor Meiji announced should be the policy of the nation, started Japan on the road to progress three-quarters of a century ago and still remains a characteristic feature of its educational system.

6

WOMEN, MARRIAGE AND MORALS

WESTERN WRITERS, however critical and harsh may be their judgments of Japanese men because of their business trickery, political corruption, and cruelty to enemies, are most lavish of their praise of the many virtues of Japanese women. In fact, the contrast between Japanese men and women is so striking that, as Lafcadio Hearn once pointed out, they give the impression of belonging to different races. Japanese women are modest, chaste, unselfish and gracious, while their men are domineering, slovenly, loose morally, and thoughtless of the welfare of others. Even in physical appearance, the differences are plainly obvious. Few Japanese men by any western standards would be regarded as handsome, but many Japanese women possess a physical charm and beauty that would attract favorable attention in any western country.

The great width of the gulf between the two sexes, however, appears most unmistakably in the realm of family and social relationships. Men always take precedence over women and expect to be served by them. "A woman should look on her husband as if he were Heaven itself and never weary of thinking how she may yield to his wishes.—The great life-long duty of a woman is obedience.—When the husband issues his instructions, the wife must never disobey them." These words taken from a classical volume used as a textbook for the training of Japanese girls during the past two hundred years make

clear the subordinate status of the women of Japan. Their lot in life, which is to serve men, is well expressed in what has been called the three obediences: obedience, while yet unmarried, to a father; obedience, when married, to a husband; obedience, when widowed, to a son.

This rigid code of conduct for women has long been deeply imbedded in the traditions of the country. Its wide acceptance for hundreds of years provides abundant evidence that Japan is preeminently a man's world. Even in the higher strata of society, where the western manner of life is widely copied, the subjection of women stands out as one of their most prominent characteristics. The women of the nobility must bow humbly to their lord and master and bend their will to his most arbitrary demands. It is not an exaggeration to say that the wealthiest countess in Japan is still her husband's drudge. When he is at home, his every wish must be anticipated and the whole household regime must minister to his comfort.

If the tyrannical rule, to which Japanese women are subjected, involved only the role of a servant and the doing of menial tasks, one might understand the patience and the docility with which they accept their inferior position. But wifely obedience to her husband includes uncomplaining acceptance of his vices even when they violate the sanctity of the home. When he spends a gay evening in the haunts of pleasure drinking and carousing, his wife must sit up and await his return no matter how late the hour. Her duty becomes far more trying when a temporary mistress is brought into the home and she is compelled to serve their needs without outward evidence of her outraged feelings.

While concubinage no longer has legal status in Japan, the old custom of maintaining concubines or mistresses either in the home or in a separate establishment is widely prevalent among the wealthier classes who can afford it. Marriage vows

in Japan are concerned only with the fidelity of the wife and do not at all interfere with the freedom of the husband to seek pleasure wherever he wishes. Men of wealth and position take it for granted that they shall have unrestrained access to mistresses while those who feel the pinch of straitened circumstances do not hesitate to spend a part of their meager income in the haunts of the demimonde. This double standard of morals is by no means limited to the Japanese but among them it stands out as one of the dominant features of their social structure. Perhaps the extraordinary patience and humble submission of Japanese women have encouraged the men to tread so openly the paths of self-indulgence. The dissolute conduct of the men has never been curbed by the righteous indignation of the women, boldly and fearlessly expressed.

Why do Japanese wives accept so supinely the immoralities of their husbands? From early childhood Japanese girls are trained to become submissive wives and mothers. Their schooling, which for the vast majority does not go beyond the elementary grades, emphasizes the traditional women's virtues of unselfishness, sacrifice, and patient endurance. They must learn how to manage a home and bring up their children, and but little attention is paid to the development of social qualities that would make them efficient hostesses or popular guests at parties and banquets. Wives of prominent Japanese may attend weddings, memorial services, and family celebrations, but they do not participate in the entertainments their husbands give for the enjoyment of their friends and business associates. Such gay parties are given in tea houses and the women invited to enliven the occasion are geisha and professional entertainers. In this man-ruled world the wives confine their activities to the customary household duties, while the men take every advantage of their freedom to enjoy the social diversions in which the home and family have no part.

One of the unfortunate results of a family system in which women occupy an inferior place has been the development of a class of professional women trained from childhood to entertain men whether in the capacity of geisha or courtesans. Girls for these professions are recruited at an early age, many of them being the daughters of the poor who are sold into quasi-slavery to aid their families in their struggle against poverty. During the period of their apprenticeship, they are subjected to rigid discipline and training designed to fit them into a uniform mold and give them proficiency in the profession that has been forced upon them.

Those apprenticed to geisha houses are taught the art of witty repartee and clever conversation as well as music and dancing, and a large share of their duties is to enliven a party by entertainment of this kind. But absolute obedience to their mistress is a part of their training, and if ordered to submit to the attentions of a wealthy patron, there is no recourse but to obey. According to their code a liaison of this kind is not dishonorable and it is through such relationships that their earning power is greatly increased. A geisha is not looked upon as a courtesan but her professional activities place a premium upon immorality.

This custom of seeking entertainment at tea houses in the company of professional women adds greatly to the cost of social functions and therefore is most widely prevalent among business men, government officials, and the upper classes generally. It doubtless grew up as a direct result of the enforced seclusion of women and may have had some justification during a period when women were illiterate and ill trained for participation in formal social activities. Its perpetuation at the present time when Japanese women of the upper classes are well educated and capable of sharing with their husbands the responsibility of extending hospitality to guests has aroused

much dissatisfaction on the part of the more progressive women who resent this unjust reflection upon their ability. A few have dared to express openly their displeasure, but by far the larger number and especially those in the highest ranks of society accept silently this discrimination against them. The necessity for wartime economy has brought about a ban upon extravagant expenditures for geisha but there is no widespread feeling throughout the nation that these unwholesome entertainments with their emphasis upon liquor and sex are detrimental influences that should be permanently abolished.

The subjection of women reaches its lowest depths in the Japanese system of licensed prostitution which is so deeply entrenched and exerts such powerful influence that custom permits fathers to sell their young daughters to procurers and the law of the state makes escape from this enforced servitude almost impossible. Comparatively few Japanese recruits enter this ignoble profession voluntarily because of depraved morals. Nine-tenths or more of these denizens of the underworld have had this fate thrust upon them by the necessity of sacrificing themselves as a means of giving their families temporary relief in their struggle against poverty. In the Japanese moral code filial piety outranks chastity. The daughter who enters a life of shame to recoup the family fortunes receives the plaudits of the community. Here the wide moral gulf that separates Japan from America can be seen most clearly. From our point of view poverty so dire that it necessitates the sacrifice of a child should become a community responsibility and be relieved by either private or public philanthropy. But in Japan poverty is primarily a family affair and the effort to relieve it by the sale of a daughter is in accord with the traditional practice among the lower economic classes. The lack of vigorous public criticism of such a custom may be due to the fact that this has long been the time-honored method of getting new

recruits for the brothels operated as a government institution.

Prostitution, which today plays such a large role among the Japanese, can be traced back to religious rites carried on in the shrines of old Japan. Throughout the country there were formerly many phallic shrines where their devotees engaged in immoral practices as a part of their religious worship. Following the Restoration, the government put a stop to these public exhibitions of immorality but it is well known that brothel quarters are still found in the neighborhood of certain widely popular shrines. Near the great shrines of Ise, where hundreds of thousands resort each year to worship the Imperial ancestors, are large and prosperous brothels maintained especially for the patronage of pilgrims. Many American visitors to Tokyo have found their way to Asakusa Park where shrines, cabarets, and houses of prostitution are closely associated in the same vicinity.

Whatever may have been the value of the religions of old Japan, they looked with tolerance upon obscene forms of worship and never attempted to curb the immoralities of their adherents. The growing popularity of Shinto shrines and festivals during recent times revives ancient ceremonials that stimulated rather than repressed immorality and seems to mark a trend toward the lower standards of former years. The violation of Chinese women by Japanese soldiers on such a large scale appears to be a step in this direction. The lowering of morals that is an inescapable accompaniment of war brings greater power to those who are reaping financial profits from commercialized vice. The campaigns of progressive leaders to prevent the sale of girls into prostitution have been abandoned. The steps that had been taken to mitigate the worst features of this enforced slavery have ended in failure. Both law and public opinion give their support to the securely entrenched lords

of the underworld. Girls seeking to escape from the licensed quarters are returned by the police to their owners. The only way out is through the purchase of their freedom which is impracticable because of debts too great to be repaid from their earnings. This legalized traffic in girls, from which the state receives immense revenues, stands out as a notorious example of official exploitation of women unparalleled among civilized nations.

This traditional method of getting recruits for brothels has been taken over also by modern industrialists in their search for cheap and docile labor. Fathers who might hesitate to sell their daughters into vice may be quite willing to bind them out to factory work. In the northern provinces where conditions of poverty are especially bad, factory agents are continually recruiting female employees from the homes of the poor. The contracts signed by the parents stipulate the period of service, which may be one or more years, during which time the girls are completely under control of their employers. The wages may be low, the hours of labor long, the living conditions unsatisfactory, but there is no redress until the time of service is completed. Should they leave the factory compound against the will of their employer, they are forced to return as soon as apprehended by the police. If they succeed in getting back to their homes, their families cannot receive them unless there is money available to return the advance payment made when the contract was signed. Girls who revolt against the factory regime and succeed in making their escape have few opportunities of earning their living except as cafe waitresses or as inmates of unlicensed houses of prostitution.

That this custom of the sale of daughters is widespread was shown by an investigation of this problem by the Imperial Agricultural Society in four northern prefectures in 1934. During the first ten months of that year, contracts were signed

by parents involving 50,340 girls who were bound over for employment in factories, geisha establishments, restaurants, and houses of prostitution. The loss of freedom suffered by the girls was brought about by the device of advance payments to the father when the official papers were signed. The average sum advanced for girls procured for employment as geisha or prostitutes, as shown by this study, was between eight and nine hundred yen, a sum of money too large to make possible their later redemption either by the family or by the girls themselves through their earnings. As long as the debt remains unpaid, they are forced to remain in servitude which for large numbers ends only in death. The advance payments made for girls entering industrial employment was much less and in many cases the contract could be fulfilled after one or more years of service. But the girls during this period of factory work suffered drastic restrictions to their freedom and were compelled to carry out their part of the contract that had been imposed upon them.

The sale of girls into industrial and moral slavery occurs too frequently among the more poverty stricken classes to attract public attention unless there is associated with it some unusual and sensational features. An instance of this latter kind, which made the headlines of the Japanese press because the father used in debauchery a part of the proceeds of the sale of his daughter to a geisha house, was reported as follows in the August 14, 1935, issue of the *Japan Advertiser* and makes clear the lax attitude of both the law and public opinion when such sales are brought to public notice.

"A farmer from Miyagi prefecture, Kyushichi Sato, brought his 14 year old daughter to Tokyo and sold her last Saturday for 250 yen to a geisha house in Nihonbashi ward for a five year term of service. The same night he appeared at a brothel

in the Susaki licensed quarter, spent the night and settled for 33 yen the next morning. Sunday night he went to another establishment in the same district, and stayed till Monday morning. His bill here was 77 yen.

"His manner of spending, however, had aroused the suspicions of owners of the two houses, who reported to police with the result that Sato was taken into custody for questioning, but dismissed with a lecture. He returned to the village the same night.

"His reason for selling his daughter, he told police, was to help pay off a debt of 600 yen. At first he had planned to place her as a servant in some home in Tokyo, but while on the train he had changed his mind. In his village, he said, it is not considered evil to sell one's daughter. 'After all,' he was quoted in his interview with the police, 'it was my daughter and my own money, and it is nobody else's business.'"

The exploitation of women, of which indentured female labor is a very considerable part, has been one of the worst features of Japan's recent industrial expansion. In the light industries and textile factories wages have been kept at the lowest possible level by employing women from the homes of poverty where the need is so great that even small earnings are gratefully accepted. Such a docile labor force has been easy to keep under control, and since the supply exceeds the demand, those who break under the strain of long hours and hard work are relentlessly pushed aside and replaced by new recruits. The alternatives to underpaid factory labor—farm work in the fields, sweated labor in home industries, and household drudgery—have been so unattractive that thousands of young women have fled to the cities for relief only to find that urban employment of women rarely leads to economic independence. Wherever women engage in gainful

work, employers take advantage of their traditional docility and lack of bargaining power and force them to accept long hours and low wages.

While the vast majority of gainfully employed Japanese women are unskilled workers, some have risen to a higher economic status and earn their living as doctors, nurses, midwives, pharmacists, teachers, writers, musicians, actresses, typists, secretaries and other occupations that require professional training. Those who succeed in entering these more desirable lines of work must overcome the serious handicap of unsatisfactory provision for their education. Girls' schools are far below the standards of men's institutions and offer few facilities for professional training. The curriculum, which is narrowly prescribed, follows the traditional ideas that prevail concerning the proper education of women. Very few of the government institutions for higher learning admit women as students. Only one of the Imperial universities has given degrees to women. There are six times as many institutions of college and university grade for men as there are for women, and the proportion of men to women students in these institutions is twelve to one. Lacking adequate facilities for professional education, only the more brilliant or those specially favored by circumstances rise above the common level and attain distinction in higher economic positions. Even if they succeed in overcoming their educational handicaps, they still face discrimination in their struggle for recognition in the professional world. Women may teach in a primary school but cannot rise to the position of principal. No woman has ever become head of a government school. The door is closed to women lawyers and women judges. There can be no aspiration to political careers, for women have not gained the right to vote either in municipal or in national elections.

In addition to these limitations to their employment, women

suffer legal disabilities which fall more heavily upon those who are married. Under Japanese law, a wife can enter into a legal contract only with her husband's consent. The unmarried woman over twenty, legally possessing full contractual rights, loses them as soon as she marries. The husband has entire control over his wife's property and is permitted to use profits from it as he sees best. When a divorce is secured by mutual consent, the husband is not obliged to contribute to the support of his wife, and the children are always placed under the care of the father. A daughter ordinarily does not inherit property. The economic dependence of women is made inevitable by laws which give them no legal right to share in family property whether as a daughter or as a wife in a family of wealth. A husband who commits adultery is liable to punishment only when prosecuted by the husband of the woman who shared in his crime. His other acts of immorality are ignored by the law and bring him no disrepute. Adultery is a ground for divorce only when the wife is the one at fault. A wife may apply for a divorce only if deserted and left without financial support.

Custom based on the old Confucian code goes much further than the law in determining the unequal status and rights of husband and wife. Divorce is a disgrace for a woman, and only in extreme cases among the upper classes would a wife on her own initiative seek a divorce from her husband. Japanese wives ordinarily choose to accept silently an unhappy lot in their homes rather than bring dishonor upon themselves and their parents by breaking the marriage bond. The husband, on the other hand, may send away his wife if she is childless, disobedient, immoral, jealous, incurably ill, thievish or garrulous. In actual practice this means that an undesirable wife can be readily divorced when she becomes unacceptable either to her husband or to his family.

The strain on the marriage tie is increased by the old custom of bringing the bride into the home of her husband's parents where she must conform to their ways and be obedient to their will. It is well known that many marriages have been broken by the mother-in-law even against the wishes of the husband. When the bride leaves her father's house for her wedding, she is dressed in white, the color of mourning, in recognition of the fact that she is now dead to her own family and belongs henceforth to the family into which she has married. Japanese students of family problems state that the recent drift to cities, which has taken many young couples away from their ancestral home and given them an opportunity to live independently apart from their parents, has had a stabilizing effect on marriage and has reduced the divorce rate.

The dominant role of the old family system appears even more strikingly in the control over the marriage of daughters. A Japanese girl, except in the more emancipated families, has no opportunity to choose her own mate. Negotiations for a marriage are placed in the hands of a go-between, and the family council, including all near relatives, discusses the merits of possible candidates. When an agreement is reached, the young people are brought together for the first meeting at the go-between's house or other suitable place to see whether they approve of their parents' choice. On these occasions, the young man's objections may end the matter, but the girl is supposed to bow humbly to the will of her family. With the entrance of western ideas into Japan, many of the young people are rebelling against the rigid control of the family system and are insisting upon a larger share of responsibility in the choice of their life partners. In the more cosmopolitan life of a great city like Tokyo, young people have wider opportunities for social contacts as well as greater freedom from the traditional family controls. Under such circumstances attachments are formed

and the western custom of romantic or free marriages has been followed in some instances. But the old family system still exercises its traditional control over marriage throughout the provincial cities and villages where western influences are not of great importance. Even in Tokyo during the past few years, intellectual and wealthy girls, perhaps influenced by the growing reactionary spirit, tend to avoid love marriages with young men of uncertain financial standing, since the responsibility would rest upon them if the marriage should end in failure. Many of them prefer to allow custom to take its course and permit go-betweens to arrange for their marriage to financially independent, middle-aged men approved by their families.

Under the stress of the present war new problems of marriage are arising which may lead to revolutionary changes in the ideals and practices of the old family system. Many young women, misled by their zeal for romantic love, have become unmarried mothers with little hope of marriage with the person of their choice since he is abroad in military service with no assurance that he will ever return. Moreover, the vast numbers of soldiers who have perished in the war have brought to public attention the problem of young widows who are more numerous than ever in the past. According to the old Japanese code, a woman can have but one husband, and, upon his death, the remainder of her life is to be spent in caring for his children and in worshipping before his family shrine. In the minds of many people the time is ripe for careful consideration of the unfortunate status of unmarried mothers and their children and also of young widows who are needed to replenish the population decimated by the ravages of war.

During the past few decades there has been increasing protest against the harsher features of the traditional family system and a vigorous feminist movement was organized to cam-

paign for equal social, political and legal rights. Able leaders, both men and women, rallied to the support of this cause although for so doing they were frequently denounced as unpatriotic and at times were openly persecuted by the police and reactionary government officials. This movement gained headway during the 1920's, and sufficient political support was secured to give this issue national prominence. In 1930, a bill granting limited civil rights to women was passed by the Lower House of the Diet but was rejected by the more conservative House of Peers. Those opposed to the enfranchisement of women pointed out that unless women were kept in their traditional position of servility, the peace of the home would be destroyed and the whole family system of Japan would be endangered. This man-ruled world was not yet ready to place women in a position where they could have a voice in directing the affairs of the nation.

The feminist cause could hardly be expected to succeed in a country where the social traditions of feudalism have tended to persist long after the coming in of a new economic system. The liberal movement, which in the West brought with it the emancipation of women, never came to full bloom in the Japanese nation. Its precarious existence was almost completely blotted out by the rapid growth of nationalism during the 1930's with its emphasis upon expansion through military aggression. Feminism can find no ally in fascism and militarism which are now in the height of their power. As long as the present regime remains in control, Japanese women cannot hope to escape from the inferior position that has been traditionally assigned them.

The movement for the emancipation of women has gone far enough to widen their horizons far beyond the narrow limits of the world in which their mothers lived a generation ago. But as far as the mass of the Japanese women are concerned,

especially those brought up in village and rural communities as well as those of low economic status in cities, their emancipation from age-old traditions has not proceeded very rapidly. Their education is not likely to go beyond that of the elementary school, their manner of life conforms to old patterns, and they tend to accept the place of inferiority in the household as decreed by ancient custom.

The vanguard of woman's progress can best be seen in Japan's great cities among the higher social classes whose financial status gives them access to higher education and makes it possible to meet the expense involved in the activities of a freer and more active life. On the streets of the main shopping district in Tokyo, there could frequently be seen, before the outbreak of the present war, young Japanese women attired tastefully in foreign clothes, moving about without any trace of self-consciousness, and their whole bearing giving indication of a new type of personality in striking contrast to the characteristic traits of the women of old Japan. Such women are the product of the cosmopolitan life of this great oriental city and their pattern is being copied widely in spite of the efforts of reactionaries to idealize the women of the past.

The deciding factor in the struggle of Japanese women for greater freedom is the changing economic world which is giving them an increasing opportunity for employment outside the home where they gain not only some measure of financial independence but a wider outlook upon life. Many thousands of young women brought up in homes where there is no pinch of poverty are seeking new experience by spending a few years before their marriage as factory laborers, conductresses on municipal busses and trams, and clerks in offices and department stores. Unlike the women in the West, they cannot yet look forward to permanent employment, for custom usually demands that they give up their jobs as soon as their

marriage takes place. Freedom for the women of Japan has not yet advanced to the point where they may on their own volition choose between marriage and a professional career. Matrimony is still their real goal demanded of them by past custom and accepted as the normal life for women.

There is much evidence that Japanese men are greatly disturbed by the recent trend toward the emancipation of their women. From their point of view it will be very difficult for women to make progress in intellectual achievements and in the business world and at the same time preserve those qualities of modesty and refinement that add so much to their charm. Many cultured Japanese women also share this view since they are the products of a rigid educational system which trains them to accept subordinate roles in life. It has been this passive indifference of many of the women as well as the opposition of the men that has slowed up the movement for greater freedom and wider fields of activity.

But the trend toward the feminization of society is worldwide, and Japan is caught in this process of change as are other countries both East and West. The retardation of this trend by the militarists and reactionary leaders is only temporary. Already the war crisis has opened new and more attractive fields for the employment of women. The limited mental horizon of the secluded women of an earlier day is becoming more and more a thing of the past. Whether the Japanese men wish it or not, their women are moving forward on a path that leads to a larger share in the control of the destiny of their nation.

7

THE CHANGING WORLD OF LEISURE

EVERY NATION has its favorite leisure time diversions which throw a flood of light on national character. Germany's formal gymnastics and physical education, England's playing fields and emphasis on team games and good sportsmanship, Switzerland's popular interest in hiking and mountain climbing, Italy's café life and local festivals, and America's extraordinarily varied program of competitive sports, outdoor life, and commercial amusements are examples of national trends in recreation closely related to the ideals and aspirations and characteristics of the people.

In Japan the changing world of leisure follows inevitably western patterns as the old handicrafts are supplanted by large industrial establishments. The westernization of the nation with its transformation of the habits and attitudes of the people appears nowhere more dramatically and convincingly than in their changing amusements and diversions. Their insistence upon enjoying modern forms of recreation has made futile the efforts of a reactionary government to bring about a complete return to the customs and ideals of old Japan. In spite of the slow progress toward shorter hours of labor for the mass of people, a new recreational world has developed far removed from their diversions of an earlier day.

Leisure in Japan is still for the favored few and is made possible by the long hours of labor of the many. The wide

gulf that separates the higher from the lower social and economic classes is clearly evident in the lines of demarcation in the leisure time world of these two groups. The widespread trend in western countries toward shorter hours of work has not yet reached Japan. Eleven hours including one hour of rest is the standard length of the work day of Japanese laborers in large factories. Those employed in small factories having fewer than 10 laborers are not protected by the Factory Act and must work as many hours as their employers may require of them, which is frequently 12 to 15 hours a day with only two rest days each month. Considerably more than one half of all industrial employees earn their living either in small workshops or in home industries where there is no protection against excessive length of the work day. If we add to this large army of laborers employed at long hours in small industries the millions of agricultural workers who toil early and late to wrest a bare living from the soil, it is apparent that only comparatively few Japanese workmen have much free time or energy at their disposal for recreation.

These long hours of toil, however, have not cast a blight over the Japanese recreational world. The Japanese are a vivacious, pleasure-loving people who possess the capacity to find relaxation and happiness during the brief times of respite from their daily work. When holidays arrive (and they occur with considerable frequency), the streets and parks and places of amusement are thronged with immense crowds who enjoy to the full these festive occasions. In such large numbers do people flock together in streets and public places to spend their few hours of leisure that the impression is given of a ceaseless stream of pleasure seekers untroubled by the necessity of earning a living and unhampered by the restrictions of hours of labor.

Traditionally many of the leisure time activities of the

people were closely connected with their shrines and temples. Temple grounds have long been favorite places for the play of children, and religious festivals were highly valued as social occasions when the people could lay aside their work and enjoy a holiday together. These festivals occur most frequently during the months when farm work is slack and seem to mark the tempo of the seasonal rhythm of social life in rural communities. Some of these festivals are national in scope while others center around a village shrine and are purely local events. The formal religious ceremonies and worship are largely left in the hands of the priests while the people turn the occasion into a picnic and enjoy themselves according to their own inclinations. The streets leading to the temple or shrine as well as the grounds themselves take on all the aspects of a village carnival with attractively decorated booths dispensing food, drink, souvenirs, and small articles of many kinds. Acrobats and jugglers display their skill while the neighboring tea houses do a flourishing business. Under the guise of a religious celebration, the people escape for a while from the monotony of the daily round of life, and the priests through contributions from the devout and their share of the commercial profits replenish their depleted treasury for another year.

This close relation between recreation and religion is seen not merely in the celebration of festivals but also in pilgrimages to holy mountains, famous shrines and temples, and other places made sacred by great historic events. The popular season for such pilgrimages is the summer months when the weather is favorable for outdoor life and the mountain trails are free from their accumulation of winter snow. It is customary for the people of a locality to form associations or clubs whose members contribute a small amount to a travel fund to meet the expenses of the annual religious pilgrimage. Since

all cannot make the journey each year, delegates are chosen by lot to represent the community and to offer worship on its behalf. Pilgrims properly garbed for their journey wear white cotton garments consisting of tight-fitting trousers, shirt, and a loose jacket which can be tucked into a girdle. Their heads are protected from the sun by a stiff, broad-brimmed straw hat, and over their shoulders is draped a piece of straw matting which shields them from rain by day and serves as their bed at night. With straw sandals on their feet, a tinkling bell attached to their girdle, and a long staff in hand, a group of pilgrims alighting from a railway train or ascending single file a steep mountain trail makes a picturesque sight frequently seen during the summer season. Not all wear this traditional garb but they will have some distinctive mark to indicate the religious nature of their pilgrimage.

The great Ise shrine dedicated to Amaterasu, the divine ancestor of their Imperial Line, is to the Japanese what Jerusalem was to the Jew. The elementary schools in Japan teach their pupils that one of the great duties of life is to visit this national shrine and worship at the fountain head of the nation. Many people travel long distances and make many sacrifices in order to fulfill this obligation before they die. The ascent of Mount Fuji is a goal eagerly sought by thousands of pilgrims each year who laboriously climb from one rest station to another until they can offer their prayers at the little shrine at the summit. Every part of the country has its sacred mountain and its other holy as well as scenic places which attract pilgrims from far and near. The religious nature of these pilgrimages is always kept in the foreground, but for many people they are primarily vacation tours valued because of the opportunity they give to visit historic spots and enjoy the fellowship of friends as they travel from place to place.

Somewhat similar to these pilgrimages are the annual school excursions usually taken in the early autumn by the students accompanied by their teachers. For the older students the itinerary may require a trip of four or five days and is so planned that a daily hike of fifteen or twenty miles will end at a convenient lodging place, perhaps a large country inn at the site of a hot spring resort where bathing facilities are ample. The educational features of these expeditions are not neglected, for the students will collect geological and botanical specimens, and they stop frequently to admire the beauties of nature or to listen to stories of the region through which they are passing. But it is above all a glorious outing for all concerned and marks a high spot in the recreational events of the school year.

Many years ago shortly after my arrival in Japan I participated in such an excursion conducted by the school in which I was employed as an English teacher. After a long hike over unfrequented country roads, we reached towards evening a hot spring resort in the midst of a mountain range. The students with as little delay as possible threw off their travel-stained clothes and rushed down the long flight of steps to the large bath house that stood beside the mountain stream. I followed more slowly, and still recall my surprise when through the dim light of the steaming bath house I saw the students and teachers mingled with the other guests of both sexes, all unclothed, enjoying the luxury of a hot bath in water famous for its medicinal qualities.

This custom of mixed bathing in congregate fashion instead of using individual private baths as is common in western countries doubtless grew out of the necessity of providing bathing facilities for large numbers at minimum expense. In a country where cleanliness of body is insisted upon by all classes, poor as well as rich, congregate bathing in public

establishments was the most economical method of dealing with this problem. Through the requirement of thoroughly cleansing the body before entering the common bath, this congregate arrangement has been satisfactory to the people and has been followed even in first-class Japanese hotels where only one public bath room is provided. The Japanese, accustomed to nudity from childhood, made no effort to segregate the sexes in these establishments until foreign criticisms brought about ordinances designed to accomplish this purpose. From the Japanese point of view no moral issue was involved because the men and women formed entirely separate groups and no man in the presence of his fellows would deign to notice the other sex. The traditional social distance between men and women operated as a barrier that separated the sexes as effectively as could have been done by separate compartments. Since this is the case, public opinion outside the large metropolitan centers has not demanded the enforcement of the ordinance against mixed bathing. In some provincial towns it is still evaded by having men and women enter through different doors which open into a common room divided into two parts by a bamboo pole or a light screen.

Bathing is so deeply imbedded in Japanese custom that the relaxation of a hot bath at the close of the working day is looked upon as a highly prized way of enjoying a part of the daily leisure. Time spent in public baths is by no mean merely the performance of a duty in the interest of cleanliness; it is a social occasion where news and gossip are exchanged and a spirit of intimate friendliness prevails. Even private baths in the home play an important social role since in the interests of economy of both fuel and labor, several neighboring families may take turns in preparing the daily bath for the use of all the members of the several households. When this cooperative arrangement is carried out, the men have the privilege of the

first use of the bath and are followed later by the women and children and servants.

Religious pilgrimages, school excursions, and visits to scenic and historic places are leisure time activities widely popular among the Japanese. Since distances are not great and places of interest to tourists are numerous, it is possible to arrange for many attractive short trips at comparatively small expense. The Japanese are great travellers and seem able to get much enjoyment from a journey even though for the sake of economy they must put up with many inconveniences and discomforts. Pleasure travel whether by foot, bicycle, bus, or train is indulged in by such large numbers of people during especially the summer season that travel facilities and accommodations are crowded to the utmost capacity.

The distinctive traits and attitudes of the Japanese people appear also in their adoption of foreign athletic sports and games which have gained a very wide following among students and young people generally. During the past half century when western culture invaded Japan on such a vast scale, foreign types of athletic sports such as baseball, soccer, rugby, basketball, tennis and golf were introduced and gained wide popularity. In general these games were taken over completely without changes in either rules or equipment so that international contests could be held. Baseball as played by the Japanese was so thoroughly American that use was made of such English terms as "strike," "out," "foul ball," etc., and even the spectators followed the American custom of hurling gibes at both umpire and players. Tennis, on the other hand, was subjected to certain changes designed to make it a less expensive game and accommodate more players. In the more exclusive clubs in the large cities tennis matches were played in accordance with international rules, but in the many thousands of schools throughout the provinces, tennis has been

given a distinctively Japanese character through the use of soft balls and loosely strung rackets and, played with this equipment, is regarded as an indigenous game. Soccer and rugby have been preferred to American football which places a premium on large size as well as skill. In a country where all suitable land is needed for agricultural and industrial purposes, golf courses could not become numerous, and the game still remains a luxury for the wealthy.

These athletic games, which are all foreign importations, have been very influential in developing a cosmopolitan state of mind not at all in accord with the resurgence of nationalism that has swept over the country. One of the first efforts to minimize their foreign character and influence was a recent movement to "nationalize" baseball by abolishing the commonly used English terms and phrases, and replacing them with appropriate Japanese substitutes. Much more far-reaching has been the attempt of the national government to establish a new set of ideals in the field of competitive sports so that they would make a larger contribution to the service of the state. In the playing of athletic games emphasis is to be upon competition in endurance, prowess, and resourcefulness rather than in the exhibition of skill or the winning of championships. The fundamental purpose of sports, according to government officials, is to build up man power and team spirit with minor attention to be given to the usual fruits of victory over a rival team. This new type of sport called "shintaisei," training of the body, is designed to develop those qualities of endurance and strength that are so essential in time of war.

This attempted modification of the foreign athletic games, which have attained such wide popularity, can be readily understood since they have at least in popular interest somewhat overshadowed the traditional militaristic types of sports with their emphasis upon contests between individuals. Kendo

(fencing), judo (the art of self defense), sumo (wrestling), and kyujutsu (archery), were among the most popular sports of feudal days and still are taught in the schools as a part of the compulsory training in physical education. The Japanese youth take pride in developing skill in these ancient methods of fighting and never tire of hearing about the extraordinary military exploits of heroes of former times. But the foreign team games in which a group of contestants is pitted against another group, greatly enhance both player and spectator interest and have become as popular in Japan as they are abroad. Under the stress of the war emergency they may be curtailed by reactionary forces but they are too deeply rooted to disappear because of prejudice against things foreign.

During recent years the Japanese interest in physical fitness has brought a great emphasis upon calisthenics and similar devices for building health. Every morning before the beginning of the school day, the youth of the entire nation line up in the school grounds or other place of assembly, and with great seriousness go through their daily dozen under the direction of a leader broadcasting over the radio. One of the popular attractions on holidays is to bring together many thousands of pupils and students in a large parade ground or public park for the purpose of displaying their skill in mass calisthenics and complicated marching exercises. Under the stress of war times field day exercises for schools and universities include difficult obstacle races that severely test both skill and strength. Young men carrying rifles and full military equipment are required to clamber over walls to reach their goal. In other similar races, the contestants shoulder and carry a fully laden bale of rice, drag a heavily loaded sledge, or find their way through a complicated series of nets. Races of this type have long been popular among Japanese students but in recent years they have more and more followed military

patterns and have obviously been designed to prepare youth to endure the hardships of military service.

Among the militaristic types of sports handed down from the past, judo, or jujitsu as it is commonly known in America, continues to have a large following of enthusiasts who work hard to acquire the skill of an expert. Formerly it was a secret art jealously guarded by the nobility and samurai who valued it highly because it enabled them to demonstrate their superiority over the common people without the use of weapons. Now it is an important part of the instruction in physical education in all the schools of Japan, and special efforts are made to teach its finer points to the police and to all enrolled in military service.

Jujitsu is a form of bodily combat with the bare hands in which reliance is placed more upon skill than upon muscular strength. Proficiency in such a contest requires knowledge of the weak parts of the human body plus skill and agility in maneuvering for a successful attack. In serious fighting the securing of a strangle hold, a quick twist of the wrist or ankle, or applying pressure to a sensitive spot will at the least temporarily incapacitate an opponent and may result in a painful injury or even death. During the practise bouts of students, injuries are avoided by acknowledging defeat as soon as a dangerous hold is secured. The police are trained to subdue criminals resisting arrest without permanently injuring them. Judo as taught to men in the army and navy bars no holds or methods of attack and has for its purpose to disable or kill as expeditiously as possible.

When jujitsu is utilized as a means of building health, it is accompanied by strict attention to diet, temperate habits, ample sleep, deep breathing exercises, and light gymnastics to give suppleness to the body. Private jujitsu academies ordinarily open before dawn during the winter months, and

those taking this training come early and endeavor to harden themselves by having their workout in the cold room before going to their regular place of employment. Judo as a leisure time activity is more work than play, and the chief pleasure it brings is pride in the possession of a skill that may be useful in an emergency. It is an appropriate art for a people of small bodily build who through its use are able to defeat an antagonist superior in weight and strength. Its reliance upon deception, surprise-attack, and taking advantage of the weakness of an enemy makes it a suitable instrument for a people who are accustomed to relying upon these methods of gaining victory over their foes.

While vigorous athletic sports have a wide vogue among the Japanese, the café type of amusement in which eating and drinking are associated with some form of entertainment makes a more universal appeal and is a far more typical method of enjoying leisure. The Japanese respond readily to the lure of bright lights and gay places of amusement. In the most populous cities certain streets become great white ways where commercial amusements and the wide variety of shops and eating establishments that thrive near them attract large crowds of people during the afternoon and evening hours. Mothers with babies on their backs, children with or without their parents, boisterous students in small bands, people from all walks of life, young and old, rich and poor, while away a few hours of their evening leisure, jostling one another as they crowd along the narrow, gaily decorated streets, stopping for a moment to buy simple knickknacks, eating and drinking at the numerous cafés and restaurants, enjoying a moving picture, or listening to a classic drama in a Japanese theater. In Tokyo, the Ginza, the main retail shopping district with its large department stores, famous restaurants, and places of amusement of different kinds is a glamorous center during

the day as well as night. Strolling up and down this famous street is a popular leisure time occupation for many thousands of Tokyo residents as well as for innumerable visitors from other places. Asakusa Park in the northeastern section of this city is another amusement center even more popular with the common people who stop for a moment to worship at the Kwannon temple on their way to its famous theater street with its shows, cafés, dance halls, and geisha establishments. Osaka has two such amusement centers, Dotombori adjacent to the retail shopping center and Shinsekai near a famous temple in the Tennoji district. These concentrated amusement areas are entirely apart from the segregated districts where prostitution is legally permitted, but it is well known that certain tea houses and other unlicensed establishments cater to those in search of illicit pleasures.

Among the popular institutions found in these amusement centers is the café or barroom, which is a European importation with its western style of building, equipment, and liquid refreshments. These cafés range from small outdoor bars facing the street to elaborate establishments gaily decorated, with private booths and sometimes featuring floor shows. The attractively dressed waitresses serve also as hostesses who sit with the guests in the booths and entertain them with conversation. Dancing is not permitted and the intimacy between hostesses and guests is restricted by police regulations. Nevertheless, the opportunity for social contacts between the sexes in an atmosphere of semi-privacy makes the café a popular gathering place for young men who rarely can associate freely with young women except in geisha houses or brothels. While these cafés are clearly patterned after foreign models, they have sufficient resemblance to the traditionally approved geisha houses to make them widely acceptable even outside the large cosmopolitan centers. That they have a demoralizing influence

appears from the fact that students are usually forbidden to patronize them. They are, however, comparatively free from public criticism in spite of the fact that they stimulate the consumption of liquor, and they have been widely established in small towns and cities throughout the entire country.

A much more distinctively foreign type of commercial amusement is the dance hall provided with its own hostesses as is necessary in a country where social relations between young men and women are restricted. The dancing craze gripped the large urban centers about a decade ago and reached its height at the time of the outbreak of the Sino-Japanese conflict in 1937. Many taxi-dance halls sprang up in the large cities and proved to be a profitable financial investment. In these establishments young men could learn popular western dances and at the same time enjoy personal contact with young women in a larger measure than was ordinarily permitted in the cafés. The dance hall, however, departed so widely from long established customs that it was first to fall under the ban of the government when unnecessary forms of luxury and entertainment were outlawed as a means of furthering the war program. The death knell of the taxi-dance halls was sounded in 1940, and this type of leisure time activity disappeared from Japan to the great regret of many thousands of young people who welcomed this opportunity to escape from some of the social restrictions that surround them.

Another importation from the West, the moving picture theater, has rapidly grown in popular favor. Before the outbreak of the present war, admissions to such theaters had reached a total of more than 175 million per year. While the movies have never played such a prominent role in the amusement world in Japan as in America, they have been extremely popular in the large cities where well equipped theaters have

been built. Films from America and Europe made a strong appeal because they gave the people a vivid picture of foreign customs and manner of life. Through the use of a narrator who would explain the scenes while the film was being shown, the audience was able to follow the play without difficulty. When foreign talking pictures were first exhibited, the narrator translating the dialogue had to make himself heard above the voices of the actors, and the resulting confusion was somewhat disconcerting. More recently, a printed Japanese translation of the dialogue is projected on the screen, which makes the foreign play intelligible to those who can read the Chinese characters with sufficient facility.

Since American and European films sometimes portray scenes in conflict with Japanese ideas of morality, they have been subjected to strict censorship by government officials. Royalty must not be depicted in an unfavorable light, action is not permitted that would place police or other government officials in an unfavorable position, and romantic scenes in which there is much kissing are likely to be deleted. Many foreign films have been banned entirely because they were believed to be detrimental to the public interest. During the latter part of the last decade films of Japanese origin rapidly displaced foreign films although those from America especially remained popular because of their superior quality. Until the outbreak of the war the moving picture industry in Japan was making rapid strides forward and attendance at movies was becoming an important leisure time activity of increasing numbers of people.

It is significant that amusements and sports imported from the West were rapidly supplanting the traditional amusements during recent years when the nation's leaders were trying to revive the customs and practices of old Japan. Cafés, dance halls, and movies were occupying the limelight in urban

amusement quarters. Vigorous outdoor games such as baseball, soccer, tennis, and skiing were pushing into the background the militaristic sports of former times. In the theatrical world, the long popular Kabuki dramas were attracting smaller audiences while the New Theater with its American and European plays was being more widely supported. Revues following the pattern of western musical comedies gained wide popularity in Tokyo and Osaka where entertainments of this kind have been made available. The classic puppet show of the Bunrakuza in Osaka has recently been desperately trying to avoid sinking into oblivion. The old forms of entertainment that once were the center of attention in the urban world have been outmoded by changing conditions and have lost much of their drawing power. The government's attempt to revive and glorify the past met with no favorable response from the people as far as the world of amusement and sport was concerned. In their search for satisfying leisure time activities, the Japanese have made an extraordinary swing toward modern forms of sport and entertainment.

These changing fashions in the realm of leisure have even made heavy inroads on such a well established institution as the time-honored geisha. A generation ago geisha were at the height of their popularity, and the banquets at which these professional entertainers presided were famous for their brilliancy and gaiety. In recent years and especially since the great earthquake in 1923, it has been apparent that the geisha business has been declining slowly but surely. Young people prefer to listen to jazz music and have lost interest in the koto and samisen. The stiff, formal dances of the geisha seem tedious and monotonous in comparison with the freedom of movement in western dances. The hostesses in a café rival the geisha in attractive appearance and witty conversation, and their entertainment is much less expensive. Just as the

riksha has given way to the taxicab, so the geisha are being supplanted by more modern forms of entertainment. This transformation from the old to the new is no doubt being slowed up by the exigencies of the war situation, but the process of change will in the long run go forward and not backward. While the older generation of men are remaining loyal to their old-fashioned ways of enjoying leisure, the young people of today are setting a new style of leisure time activities which are making it difficult to turn the clock back and revive the institutions of old Japan.

8

REGIMENTATION OF THE PEOPLE

IN JAPAN, as in Nazi Germany, individual freedom does not exist. Independent action is taboo. The individual makes no important decisions without the approval of the family council, and his life has no meaning apart from his service to the State. Much wider than the sea that separates China from Japan is the gulf between the Chinese emphasis upon the rights and worth of the individual and the Japanese conception of the individual as a docile member of a group. Even the Mikado, who is revered as a god, does not rule as a personal dictator. His power is always expressed through the advisers that surround him, and he is today in actuality the tool of the Supreme War Council.

In a country where the individual plays such a subordinate role, regimentation most strictly enforced is the inevitable lot of the people. The lesson impressed upon every school child is the necessity of conformity. Whereas the American goal of education is the development of personal initiative and individual ability, the Japanese are trained to fit into a common mold and bow to the communal will. Their entire educational system from the primary school through the university meticulously guides the thought of Japanese youth along well beaten paths carefully marked out by those in authority. Any departure from these paths is forbidden. Their goal of education has been attained when all have been molded into the

patterns of life that will make them most useful in advancing the welfare of the State.

Throughout the whole routine of daily life there is a right way to do things which must be thoroughly learned. But above all, right thinking is essential, and here nothing is left to chance. Instruction in "morals" is entrusted only to the best teachers and is a basic part of the educational system. Throughout the 11 years of the elementary and secondary schools two hours each week are given to lectures on filial piety, obedience to one's elders, reverence for the Emperor as a divine being, and the willingness to die for him and the nation over which he rules. So uniform is the doctrine laid down and so emphatic is the insistence upon acceptance of this teaching that each generation of Japanese youth loyally subscribes to this basic creed. No other nation has developed such singleness of thought and purpose among the mass of the people as have the Japanese in the subordination of the individual to the will of the family and nation.

This does not mean, of course, that all Japanese think alike, although the government makes every effort to have them do so. Even in a despotic country there are free spirits that revolt against tyrannical rule. Knowledge of western liberal movements could not be kept away from the Japanese people, and many have been attracted to this way of life. So great was the interest in the social and political ideas and movements in the western world that many books dealing with this subject were translated and widely sold especially in the educational centers. Thousands of university students through acquaintance with this literature became familiar with the trends toward greater freedom abroad and bitterly resented the official efforts to circumscribe their field of thought.

The more conservative governmental leaders were well

aware that if the trend toward western liberalism were permitted to go forward unchecked in their midst, the mediaeval foundations of their nation would be greatly weakened and perhaps eventually destroyed. As reactionary groups gained greater control of the government, there was put into effect a rigid plan of censorship and repression designed to curb the growing interest of the youth in books that were tending to undermine their faith in Japanese traditions. With fanatical zeal the police, heartily supported by the patriotic societies, began hunting down the "radicals" and throwing into prison those who most openly protested against the bureaucratic control of the State.

Through the enactment of the Peace Preservation Law of 1925 the police were given extraordinary powers to deal drastically with even the slightest manifestations of discontent and unrest that might seem to imply a criticism of the existing order. The term "dangerous thought," *kiken shiso,* came into popular use at that time, and those suspected of harboring such thoughts were either imprisoned or deprived of their official positions. Just what constituted a dangerous thought was never clearly stated but in general it was anything that might in the judgment of the authorities seem to threaten the solidarity of the nation. Large latitude was given to the police in their efforts to round up the discontented elements of the nation and prevent the organization of any radical movements. The term "communist" became the symbol of all forms of heterodoxy and included labor leaders encouraging strikes, persons daring to protest against the exploitation of the poor by the rich, students who read socialist literature, and professors making unorthodox statements about the government or suspected of left wing sympathies.

A professor of economics in the Tokyo Imperial University was fined and imprisoned for publishing an article entitled

"A Study of the Social Thought of Kropotkin." A professor of political science in Waseda University was dismissed because he became head of the Japan Farmer-Labor Party. A professor of politics in Kyoto Imperial University lost his position on the faculty because he made a formal statement to the effect that the laws in any country were conditioned by the economic structure of the land. Another professor was expelled from the university because he had publicly discussed the widely known rumors of the immorality of Empress Koken who lived more than a thousand years ago. A Cabinet minister was forced to resign because he had praised in a public speech the conduct of an Ashikaga Shogun of the 15th century.

Students who took an interest in labor problems or were opposed to military training in colleges and universities were in danger of arrest if the police became aware of their ideas or activities. Student societies organized for the study of left wing doctrines were suppressed and their leaders prosecuted. The Minister of Justice reported that from 1928 to 1933 approximately 2500 students had been indicted on charges of communism and that more than 3000 others had been arrested on a similar charge.

The nation-wide campaign to suppress dangerous thoughts has by no means been limited to those suspected of heterodoxy in educational institutions. Official figures are not available but it is estimated that 60,000 people were arrested after 1925 on the ground that they had expressed thoughts dangerous to the national welfare. It is reliably reported that many of these were tortured by the police until they were willing to plead guilty to the charges made against them. The detailed story of the official effort to destroy liberalism is unpleasant reading and convicts the government of inexcusable bigotry and cruelty. The fact that this attempted regimentation of the

economic and political ideas of the people met with such vigorous opposition even at the price of torture and imprisonment indicates that many people have bitterly resented the highhanded methods of Japanese officialdom. No doubt, the decision to embark on a policy of military aggression abroad is at least partly explained by the necessity of diverting attention from pressing domestic problems and attaining the national solidarity that goes along with war.

The ineffectual effort of the Japanese people to resist regimentation successfully can be readily understood when we realize that conformity to the pattern laid down by the group is an essential feature of their whole civilization. It is difficult to escape from this national pattern of life since it is largely enforced by public opinion. That which keeps them in line is not so much the fear of punishment as the disapproval of their own associates.

The necessity for conformity is especially impressed upon those who seek official careers by pursuing studies in institutions of higher learning. Throughout their university training, students follow a fixed pattern covering all their activities. The usual freedom and joyousness of youth are noticeably absent. Eccentricities are not tolerated. They go through the daily grind knowing that official preferment is only for those who conform rigidly to the established code of conduct appropriate for students. Those who pass through this long period of training have learned how to obey the dictates of custom. They are more disposed to accept orders than to think for themselves, for submission to superiors is the best guarantee of success. They are the slaves of a rigid system from which there is no escape without the loss of everything for which they have struggled throughout the long years of their preparation.

It is, however, in the emphasis upon proper observance of

conventional forms in the daily routine of life that the foundations for repression of freedom of action are most effectively laid. In Japan there is little or no distinction between moral requirements and social obligations. The violation of social custom is as serious as is the breaking of a moral commandment. The proper observance of the ritual of social intercourse is by no means a matter for individual choice. The home, the school, and the community join hands in enforcing obedience to the traditional laws of social usage, and the vast majority conform to these requirements as a matter of course.

This strict regulation of daily conduct is a part of their heritage from feudal times when sumptuary laws were so numerous and minute that extraordinarily heavy burdens were imposed upon the people. Under the Tokugawa regime that just preceded the modern era, the government enacted the most detailed laws regulating every conceivable aspect of daily life. Not merely were the size and form of construction of a farmer's dwelling carefully prescribed, but also the quality and amount of food he and his family might consume. Such matters as the kind of clothes to be worn, the expense of a wedding outfit, the kind of food to be served at a wedding feast, the ornaments that women might wear, and even the toys that might be given to children were regulated by government decrees.

If an attempt had been made to enforce such arbitrary and unpopular regulations by police surveillance, the people no doubt would have found ways of evading them. But the Japanese authorities with their genius for organization were able to turn the problem of enforcement to the people themselves. Each local hamlet had its own chief who was responsible for the conduct of all its members. Upon each person was laid the obligation of watching the behavior of others and reporting all violations. No escape from regimentation

was possible since control was exercised by the family and community as well as by officials appointed by the government.

The minute regulations that grew up in feudal Japan were concerned not merely with material posessions but with the people's manner of speech as well. A system of verbal etiquette was officially determined which imposed a great burden upon the people who were required to learn and observe it. Inferiors in the social scale had to use terms of respect when talking to their superiors. The proper use of honorifics and words expressive of humility together with the variations in the use of pronouns and verb forms appropriate for the several classes of people could be mastered only by careful and strict training during the years of childhood. In feudal times a mistake made by an inferior in addressing a samurai would be regarded as an insult that might be avenged by his death.

So deeply intrenched are these traditional forms of speech today that they are still a requirement of good social usage. A considerable part of the education of a Japanese child is the acquirement of facility in the use of expressions appropriate for different occasions as well as observation of all the rules of language in addressing inferiors and superiors. Each social class has its prescribed manner of speaking and it is the height of rudeness to make use of words in addressing another person that are not suited to his rank or social status. Women are required to use many polite words and expressions that are not customarily employed by men and those belonging to the higher social classes are trained in refinements of speech that clearly indicate their station in life.

The requirements of the Japanese social code go still further and attempt to regulate all the details of social intercourse. When two people meet, strict attention must be paid to obeisances so that they are appropriate to each other's rank

or social position. Any failure to bow low enough or to bow in the proper manner is an act of rudeness of which no cultivated Japanese wants to be guilty. Facial expression is also important. It is not proper to betray by look or gesture any sign of grief or pain in the presence of a superior. In feudal days when these regulations were more exacting, suffering and sorrow were to be concealed by a smile and a happy tone of voice. Samurai women were required to show signs of joy when told that their husband or son had been killed in battle. All natural feelings were to be repressed when in the presence of other people.

With such a heritage of stoicism handed down from one generation to another, we can understand why the Japanese have developed the stolid, impassive face which stands out as one of their well known national characteristics. Originally imposed upon them by their rulers as a device to keep the people submissive and to strengthen the caste system, it is now an accepted part of their code of social behavior. What must not be forgotten is that this mask of stolidity need be worn only in public. The wearing of such a mask by a people as emotional as are the Japanese is by no means easy, and when they are behind the scenes in the privacy of the family circle, they give expression to their anger or cry out with pain or sorrow as human beings do everywhere.

The emphasis among the Japanese on the observance of the traditional social code has given them a reputation for politeness exceeding that of any other Far Eastern people. They are careful to follow the well established rules of etiquette when meeting a friend on the street, entering a room as a guest, or playing the role of a host. In the daily round of activities upon which the seal of custom has been placed, all know the right way of doing things and these rigidly prescribed forms are almost universally followed.

But in new or strange situations not covered specifically by the code in which they have been trained, the Japanese are frequently guilty of rudeness and thoughtlessness inexcusable among a people who place so much insistence upon good social usage. A crowd of travellers awaiting an opportunity to purchase tickets in a railway station push themselves forward regardless of others in their efforts to reach the ticket window instead of voluntarily falling in line and awaiting their turn. No Japanese would soil the floor of their house by failing to remove their shoes but when entering a western type house where footgear may be worn, they do not apologize if their shoes are muddy or stop to wipe them on a doormat. In railway coaches with seats running lengthwise passengers frequently monopolize more than their share of the seating space even though other passengers are compelled to stand. A few years ago when travelling on an express train between Tokyo and Osaka, I saw a group of well dressed university students eat a meal in the dining car without removing their caps.

In all usual and conventional situations the average Japanese know how to be courteous and respond in accordance with their training. But under circumstances not covered by their code, they seem to lack the capacity to make the adjustments that would be expected of a refined and cultivated people. They have been well instructed in the formal rules of etiquette without adequate emphasis upon the principles of kindliness and consideration of others. Their courtesy is an outgrowth of formalistic training which has left them strangely unwilling or unable to conduct themselves as well bred people when they meet new situations.

This breakdown of the traditional code of politeness has been an inevitable accompaniment of the change from a feudalistic to a modern nation. The old stereotyped conven-

tions were built up in a static society and were designed to preserve the status quo. The individual was kept in subjection by narrowly circumscribing his world and giving him no freedom for spontaneity of action. It was necessary for him to conform to the mode of life of the group to which he belonged. This enforcement of standardized conventions becomes exceedingly difficult in a period of rapid change like the present for they tend to become quickly outmoded or entirely inadequate to deal with existing problems. For this reason Japanese behavior during recent years has exhibited many strange contradictions. Faultless courtesy has existed alongside inexcusable rudeness. But there is no evidence that the control of the group is waning and that the individual is gaining a new freedom. On the contrary, every effort is being made by those in authority to devise new ways of regimenting the people and keeping them submissive to the national will.

Evidence of this is seen in the recent efforts of the Japanese government to establish a so-called new national structure as a means of strengthening the fighting power of the nation. Under the euphemistic guise of the spiritual mobilization of the people, there have been put into effect drastic regulations of living habits that equal if they do not surpass the sumptuary laws of the Tokugawa era. After three years of heavy expenditures in their war against China, the militarists in control of the government took steps to enforce a Spartan discipline upon the people and bring about a return to the more simple living conditions of former times.

Although in the midst of a wartime boom when money was plentiful, the government prohibited the use of luxuries, greatly restricted commercial amusements, and insisted that the people prepare themselves to sacrifice many of their accustomed comforts. Restaurants were asked to cease serving

expensive foods and were permitted to be open only during certain hours. Women were urged to dress in simple, somber colored kimonos and never appear in public attired in western clothes or wearing expensive jewelry. In order to enforce the ban against luxuries, the government forbade the production or sale of expensive commodities of many kinds. Dance halls were closed, golf tournaments were banned, and restrictions were placed on the operation of cafés and tea houses. A campaign was launched to do away with the universal custom of exchanging seasonal gifts and to cut down the cost of weddings and funerals. Several thousand magazines and newspapers thought to be unnecessary or detrimental were compelled to suspend publication. An elaborate youth movement patterned after the Hitler Jugend system was established and young people of both sexes, whether in school or employed in factories, were required to line up each day and go through with prescribed physical exercises designed to build up their health. The government announced that the new life movement must cover every aspect of daily living and be extended into the remotest parts of the Empire. Discipline and sacrifice were set up as guiding principles for the people of the nation.

While such a far reaching program of drastic economy and self-denial brought financial ruin to many business and industrial establishments and robbed life of many of its attractions for millions of people, it was put into effect with a minimum of complaints and protests. The new national structure with its strict regimentation of the people is new only in the sense that it has been adapted to meet the requirements of the present situation. Japan's national structure has always been of the ordering-forbidding type in which the people play the role of docile subjects. In their family life, in all their social relationships as well as in their role of citizens, they have never made a strong issue of individual freedom. Accustomed

to bending their will to that of the group or to those in authority, they have quickly adjusted themselves to the hardships imposed upon them by the war. All their traditions and customs inherited from the past have prepared them to stand together in the present crisis and do the bidding of their leaders. Those who believe that the strain of war will make Japan ripe for revolt are indulging only in wishful thinking. A nation long trained to accept regimentation possesses unusual strength when forced to adjust itself to the sacrifices required by war.

Nevertheless, there was evidence, prior to the outbreak of the present war, that reactionary groups were going too far in their attempted regimentation of the people. The effort to promote national solidarity and combat western influences by turning the people back to the customs and traditions and manner of life of old Japan was foredoomed to failure. A literate people living in a world of modern technology could find no permanent satisfaction or contentment in an outmoded way of life. Having become accustomed to a more dynamic world with wider opportunities and fewer restrictions, they could not turn completely back, no matter how strong was the official pressure.

As a matter of fact, one of Japan's chief weaknesses has been the slowness with which its feudal heritage has been discarded. Advances in science and technology have not been paralleled by changes in the institutions necessary to adapt them to the requirements of a machine age. The Japanese have tried to perpetuate political myths that cannot stand up under the light of scientific research. Their modern industries have expanded enormously, greatly increasing the wealth of the nation without alleviating the poverty of the mass of the people. Their universities turn out highly educated men who are denied freedom of thought and expression in discussing

crucial problems facing their nation. They have superimposed a machine civilization upon an institutional framework that is still largely feudalistic in nature.

This retardation in adjusting their social and political institutions to the technological changes that have transformed their conditions of life has been largely due to the rigid system of governmental control in the intellectual world from which there has been no escape. The dangerous thoughts that might have led to the liberation of the people were ruthlessly suppressed. But in suppressing them the reactionaries have only postponed the day of reckoning. When the war is over, these basic issues will still remain to be dealt with. If the shackles of militarism can be thrown off, a long oppressed people, eager for a more liberal way of life, may take determined steps to bring it to full realization.

9

EXPLOITATION OF THE POOR

THE JAPANESE, who know how to place their best foot foremost and make a pleasing impression on foreign visitors, have seen to it that their slums are far from city centers and that ragged beggars are much less visible than in other oriental countries. It is possible to travel through Japan without becoming aware of the existence of poverty in its more aggravated and repellent forms. The poverty that does obtrude because it is so widespread is likely to appear genteel and widely divorced from the squalor that is ordinarily associated with it in western countries. The Japanese have been trained not to parade their sufferings in public, and even the humblest dwelling will give little external evidence of the destitution within.

But all who have taken pains to study the social conditions in Japan know poverty and destitution stand out as an ever present threat if not an actuality among the toiling masses through the entire country. The greatness of Japan with its vast military power, its palatial government buildings, and giant industries has been built by underpaid labor working long hours and suffering hunger and privation in much the same manner as their Roman prototypes centuries ago who made possible the magnificence of Rome and formed the backbone of the legions that set out to conquer the world.

So successful have the Japanese been in concealing from public view this darker side of life that few writers have paid

any attention to the wide gulf between the rich and the poor and the exploitation of the latter by those in a position to profit by their labor. Such matters as political corruption, assassination of unpopular leaders, and official acceptance of prostitution have frequently been the subject of comment, but the cankering sore of poverty that has been an ever present problem has been either ignored or given a minor place in the discussion of the basic economic situation.

The fact is that the Japanese leaders themselves have deliberately chosen to ignore the low scale of living of the mass of their people or at least to postpone dealing with this problem until a more opportune time. In making this decision they have merely perpetuated the policy of past centuries, for poverty has long been the inescapable lot of their peasants and laborers. Whatever culture Japan developed in former centuries was made possible by the sacrifices of the many at the bottom of the social and economic scale. Through exploitation of the poor the court and members of the nobility were able to spend extravagantly and enjoy a luxurious mode of living.

During the Tokugawa period poverty among the peasants was so extreme that many felt unable to feed their children through the long period of infancy and childhood. Abortion and infanticide were frequently resorted to as a means of destroying their own progeny, and then they secured the needed field hands by purchasing at a low price children old enough to work kidnapped from the towns by so-called child merchants. Large tracts of farm land had to be abandoned because the crops produced were insufficient to pay the exorbitant taxes imposed upon the farmers.

It is difficult to exaggerate the wretchedness of the peasantry during feudal times. The upper classes regarded the farmer merely as a machine necessary to produce the food required by his superiors. Governmental land policy of that day was

based on the principle that those who toiled in the fields should be permitted to keep just enough food to give them strength to work. Sumptuary laws designed to keep their scale of living at the lowest possible level and prevent them from wasting time in the enjoyment of leisure were rigidly enforced. An edict promulgated in the 17th century ordered them "to rise early, to work at night, not to eat rice but to be content with coarser fare, to abstain from tea and tobacco, and if their wives are flighty and like visiting temples or rambling in the hills, to divorce them at once."

The Restoration brought a new and more enlightened era to the Japanese nation, but very little attention was paid to the improvement of the hard lot of the lower social and economic classes. Lafcadio Hearn in his description of the poverty prevailing shortly after the opening of the present century said that "the number of poor people in Tokyo unable to pay their annual resident-tax is upwards of 50,000; yet the amount of the tax is only about 20 sen or 5 pence English money." When the rice crop failed in any region, thousands faced starvation and suffered as severely as did the poor during feudal times.

With such a long heritage of bitter poverty and narrowly circumscribed lives it is not surprising that the modern peasants and factory laborers accept in such a docile manner the meager existence that is still their lot. When Japan faced the necessity of building a modern nation equipped with varied types of industrial establishments and powerful commercial and financial institutions, those in authority had at least one important asset, a complacent peasantry asking only a mere livelihood as a reward for their exhausting toil. Japanese entrepreneurs never felt it necessary to profit by western experience and take steps to avoid labor troubles by improving working conditions and recognizing the right of collective bargaining. They knew that laborers long accustomed to living at a subsistence level

and having a heritage of subservience to authority could be counted upon to work long hours for a minimum wage. By taking advantage of the helplessness of the lower social and economic classes and their tendency to bow to the will of their superiors, the government was able to promote a policy of industrial expansion unhampered by high labor costs and the need of giving attention to the improvement of living standards of the mass of the people.

As a result of this governmental policy followed consistently for the past 75 years, Japan has astonished the world by its extraordinary advances in the fields of commerce and industry. In spite of the late start in the large scale production of manufactured goods, Japanese industrialists became successful competitors for world markets and at the same time devoted a large share of their productive capacity to building up the military strength of their nation. It is this aspect of Japan that has come most prominently to the attention of western nations. The other side of this picture, the price that has been paid by the mass of the people so that their country might present a bold front to the outside world is less well known because it is primarily a domestic problem which the Japanese government as far as possible has kept in the background.

Now that we are at war against Japan this exploitation of their own people becomes a matter of great significance. It reveals to us a basic weakness of their nation which may prove to be their undoing if the war is drawn out over a period of years. Their disillusioned proletariat have been forced to live at the lowest possible level for many years and their health may be seriously undermined if the war situation compels them to endure greater privations. At the same time it makes clear the hard fate of the peoples whom they conquer. A despotic government that has not been moved by the sufferings of their own people is not likely to take steps to improve the lot of for-

eign peoples reduced to impotence by the might of Japanese armies. The victims of Japan's aggression can look forward to nothing better than serfdom as their labor is exploited in the interests of the Japanese nation.

To get an accurate measure of the extent of the poverty and destitution in Japan is impossible because of the lack of adequate records. Neither governmental nor private social agencies make any pretense of extending relief to all who are in need. A public relief act went into effect in 1932 but insufficient funds allocated to relief have made this law of little value. Health insurance is the only form of social insurance that has been established, and this is still very limited in its scope. Governmental responsibility for the unfortunate extends little beyond occasional contributions for relief in time of famine or disaster and the provision of a few institutions for the care of the aged and other dependent classes. The small number of these institutions in comparison with the vast numbers in need of assistance is ample evidence that neither the central nor the local governments have attempted to grapple with this problem.

Moreover, private philanthropy is in an elementary stage of development. Private social agencies comparable to those established in America and England have barely made a beginning. Neither men of wealth nor the general public have established the tradition of making charitable contributions. The general lack of a feeling of personal responsibility for human welfare has hampered the development of social work both governmental and private. With relief agencies so notoriously inadequate, the measurement of destitution through their records of assistance is worse than useless for it is entirely misleading.

This apparent indifference of the Japanese to the social problems of the masses can be explained at least partly by the traditional solidarity of the patriarchal family system which

limits responsibility to relatives, near or distant. To the extent that the old family system is accepted with its ideals and obligations, social welfare work tends to be regarded as meddling with other people's business. The normal thing to do is to help one's family and not be too much concerned with the problems faced by others. Men of wealth are not expected to devote large sums to the establishment and maintenance of humanitarian enterprises but they would be severely criticized if they failed in their duty to any of their relatives.

This lack of community or civic spirit makes it difficult to secure leadership for any type of social reform or even any neighborhood improvement. The local authorities may neglect to repair the roads, thus discommoding all who live in that locality, but no one will feel called upon to make a public protest or call a meeting to secure some action about the matter. Long standing custom prescribes the particular responsibilities resting upon citizens as members of families but not as members of communities. And in their wider relations with the central government, their duties are so definitely laid down and so rigidly enforced that there is little incentive to develop personal initiative and resourcefulness in dealing with state affairs.

Social obligations toward strangers have tended to be minimized in the Far East by those who have fallen under the influence of Confucian ethics. Service to others outside the immediate family and its circle of friends was not one of the five cardinal virtues laid down by this great oriental teacher. Where the patriarchal family system remains dominant, charity begins at home and is likely to be restricted to those with a direct claim upon the family's generosity. In feudal times when the laboring classes were not given freedom of movement from place to place, the custom of family responsibility for its unfortunate members had some justification and may have been satisfactory except when poverty was too wide-

spread. But in modern times when the members of families become widely separated through migration to cities and other distant places in their search for work, this old system of relief frequently breaks down. Industrial workers stranded far from their original homes because of broken health or lack of employment may because of years of absence have lost touch with their relatives or may know that they are too impoverished to receive them. Nevertheless, when hard times reduce to penury workers in industrial centers, they are encouraged by the government to return to their former homes no matter how distant or how unable their relatives may be to provide food and lodging for additional people. A Japanese colleague of mine living upon the small salary of a teacher had at one time 16 members of his household, 12 of whom were impoverished relatives whom custom required him to support.

In a country where governmental responsibility to relieve destitution is evaded to such a large degree and where private philanthropy is largely limited to relatives, exploitation of the poor by those in a position to profit by it is not thought an issue of great importance to which national attention should be given. This grasping spirit which seeks private gain at the expense of the helpless is of course not limited to the Japanese, but in Japan there is no public disapproval which would tend to keep it within bounds. That those born in poverty should remain poor is a point of view widely accepted. Occasionally members of the lower economic classes may rise to positions of influence but there is no widespread feeling that equality of opportunity should be possible for all. The gulf between the upper and the lower classes is much wider than in the West and any attempt to bridge this gulf through appropriate social legislation meets with strong opposition on the part of the privileged classes.

This continued prevalence of old feudalistic attitudes

strengthens the tendency to take advantage of those unable to protect themselves. When the poverty stricken peasants get momentary relief through rising prices of silk and rice, the manufacturers of commercial fertilizers quickly advance the price of their products although their factories have been operating at a profit. Wage rates may decline in manufacturing establishments at a time of increased profits for the wealthy owners with little possibility of an effective protest by the workers. Such injustice suffered by those struggling hard to make a decent living has aroused much discontent and bitterness and is largely responsible for the growth of interest in radical movements during the past twenty years.

This exploitation of those on the borderline of poverty stands out most flagrantly in the rural areas. In the recent modernization of Japan business and industrial interests have been placed first, and the government through direct and indirect subsidies has made possible the growth of great factories and trading companies. The plan for rapid industrial development included low labor costs so that there could be successful competition for foreign markets. The low purchasing power of the factory workers made it necessary to keep down the prices of agricultural products, and the farmers found themselves far worse off than before because of the increasing burden of taxes imposed upon them to finance government enterprises.

Confronted by these conditions during the past 50 years, the farmers of Japan have been unable to rise out of the poverty which was their lot in feudal times. In fact, as the years have gone by, they find themselves deeper in debt for large numbers have been compelled to mortgage their farms in order to live. The typical small farm in Japan consists of barely two acres. Farm machinery is entirely impracticable both because of the small size of the farm and because of the problem of surplus labor involved in the use of machinery. All the labor must be

done by hand with the most primitive tools. In this labor the whole family participates, and in those parts of the country where a long growing season makes possible a succession of two or three crops, the days of comparative leisure are few. And if the family is large and the acreage small, time must be found for supplementary occupations such as silk production, weaving, and sandal making or there will not be enough food for all. A survey of farmer households a few years ago revealed that the average farmer spends less than five cents a day for food; that he lives on the poorest, the most unsalable of his crop, probably barley or millet; and that the vast majority must be content to season their cereal with the coarsest radish pickles. A few who are better off may add a little fish to their diet now and then. Infant mortality and diseases caused by malnutrition increase yearly. Medical help and attention to hygiene have gone the way of other luxuries.

Prior to the outbreak of the present war, the situation among farmers had become desperate. Influential leaders in the army published in 1934 a widely circulated pamphlet which called upon the government to come to the aid of agriculture as a part of the program of national defense, and urged the establishment of small industries in the villages so as to provide employment for the surplus agricultural labor. In the clash of interests between industry on the one hand and agriculture on the other, the government gave its support to the heavy industries which throughout the 1930's were busily engaged in the production of war materials. This policy of the government made possible their initial successes in the present war but the price paid by the Japanese peasants in terms of malnutrition, suffering, and want can hardly be exaggerated.

The destitution of the farmers can be seen at its worst in the Tohoku, the six prefectures in northern Japan where the

growing season is short and crop failures frequently occur. In 1932 when famine conditions prevailed in most of the northern provinces, it was officially reported that more than two million persons were in need of assistance. Newspapers in the Miyagi prefecture stated that one tenth of the population was in distress. The Tokyo *Nichi Nichi* in October 1934 declared that "conditions in the Tohoku district are horrible. The number of peasants who are dying of starvation reaches 70,000. Mothers are exhausted and children perishing. School children faint daily at school from emaciation."* Similar conditions prevailed in the northern island of Hokkaido where there were thousands of children too weak to attend school because of lack of food.

Faced by this desperate situation, thousands of farmers sought temporary relief by selling their daughters to geisha houses and brothels or by binding them over to textile factories for a period of years. In some villages it was reported that all girls of marriageable age had been sent away and in some instances children were taken out of school and sold. If parents hesitated to sacrifice their daughters in this way, the landlords or usurers to whom they owed money would take steps to enforce the payment of the debt.

The most tragic aspect of this situation is that this suffering existed in the midst of plenty. There was an ample supply of food for those who had money with which to purchase it. The Imperial government had large reserves of rice which could have been sold to the poor at low cost if public opinion had demanded the adoption of such a policy of relief. This was not done on the ground that it might lower the price of rice and thus bring heavy losses to those who had made large investments in this commodity. Men of great wealth through-

* Fredá Utley, *Japan's Feet of Clay*, pp. 145–146. New York: W. W. Norton & Co., 1937. Reprinted by permission.

out the country were aware of the suffering of the people but the funds collected for relief were entirely inadequate. The contributions of the Imperial Family and the government appropriations for relief were likewise insufficient and frequently maladministered. In some instances, according to newspaper reports, two thirds of the relief funds were spent on parties, conferences, and travelling expenses by those entrusted with their distribution.

While it was known that public works designed to conserve the water supply would greatly decrease the danger of periodic crop failures, the government was unwilling to appropriate funds for this purpose. The vested interests that profited by the agrarian distress were too powerful. Money lenders and banks loaned money to poverty stricken farmers at exorbitant rates of interest. Brothels were assured of a regular supply of young girls from the farming districts. Factory owners were able to keep wages down by the employment of daughters of poor farmers glad to get even a small pittance for their services. And in the meantime hundreds of millions were being spent for armaments while farmers were urged to tighten their belts and prepare to make even greater sacrifices for the welfare of their country.

This exploitation of the poor is found in the city as well as in the country districts. In fact, the low scale of living of the peasants who flock to the cities for employment in factories keeps the wage level down to the lowest minimum. The rapid development of Japan's industries has gone forward without a corresponding advance in the welfare of the working classes. From the beginning of the modern era employers of labor took advantage of the lack of protective factory legislation and worked their employees excessively long hours with no attention to the improvement of working conditions. The first factory act was not passed until 1916 and its more drastic regula-

tions were postponed from time to time at the request of the large industrialists. Unfortunately, small factories employing fewer than 10 laborers are not covered by the provisions of this law, which means that in more than half of the industrial establishments employing hundreds of thousands of workers there is no limitation of hours of work, no check on the employment of small children, and no insistence on safety devices and safeguards to health. In these small workshops sweated labor in its worst forms goes on with no possibility of government control or effective protest on the part of the employees.

Labor organizations have been so retarded by government opposition that trade union activities have been forced underground and practically no progress has been made in the direction of collective bargaining. Under these circumstances wages paid to the unskilled and semiskilled workers have remained at a mere subsistence level. Japan's propagandists and well meaning foreign friends have frequently tried to explain how even the lowest income groups in Japan are able to live decently and in comfort and enjoy conditions of life that compare favorably with those found among similar workers in western lands. Comparisons of standards of living in different countries are difficult to make and at best are likely to be inconclusive, if not entirely misleading. What does seem clear and undeniable to anyone who has taken pains to observe the manner of life of the Japanese proletariat is that they are almost always living on the borderline of poverty and in danger of being engulfed by it when confronted by any unusual emergency such as unemployment or sickness. If they are able to live comfortably, it is because they have accustomed themselves through necessity to a cheap diet, to inexpensive clothes, to unheated and congested living quarters, and to a minimum of cultural advantages. Savings are too meager to give any feeling of security. Medical service is a luxury made use of only in the direst ex-

tremity. The many economies that they are forced to make indicate clearly that they are living on a level of mere subsistence, a condition of life against which they would make a strong protest if despotic authority did not hold them in line.

Even more convincing evidence of the existence of poverty akin to destitution can be found in the slum areas of Japan's great manufacturing cities. These deteriorated residential districts where low rents draw together those with the most meager incomes are not located as in American cities adjacent to the central business district and are not intermingled with vice and other activities of the underworld. For this reason they are frequently overlooked by foreign tourists who are led to believe that Japanese cities have in some way escaped the blight of low grade homes for the poor.

The haunts of poverty in such large cities as Tokyo and Osaka are out in the industrial suburbs far from the customary routes of tourist travel. There along narrow streets not wide enough for an automobile are the cramped quarters of the slum dwellers whose emaciated bodies, ragged clothes, and dull, hopeless faces give clear indication of the depths of poverty into which they have fallen. The buildings are of the flimsiest construction, unsuited for protection against the cold of winter, and badly out of repair. Whole families are crowded into tiny rooms devoid of everything except the most primitive living necessities. In such makeshift quarters far more depressing and perhaps far less suited for human habitation than the worst tenements in occidental cities, are found not merely the aged and infirm who for some reason have made a failure of life, but also young children whose furtive looks and gaunt bodies mark them out as victims of a dark heritage from which they are unlikely ever to escape.

How many are living in such areas of destitution we have no means of knowing for official records of relief are incom-

plete and sociologists in Japanese universities do not concern themselves with investigations of this kind. In a country where the wages of the great mass of working people are kept near the subsistence level, we may be sure that many tens of thousands sink into destitution when they meet with sickness or other disabling misfortune. It is only through the long standing custom of family responsibility for all their kinsfolk that starvation is kept from many doors. But this system of family relief where so many are living on the borderline of poverty throws a burden upon the poor too great to be borne.

The fact that the Japanese leaders responsible for national policies have perpetuated such a system throughout the years while permitting great fortunes to be accumulated and made still larger by exploiting the poor is ample proof that humanitarianism is not given a high place in their ethical code. On the contrary, the trait that seems to be most dominant is utter disregard for the rights of others if the latter are weak and unable to defend themselves. This has been apparent in their exploitation of the Formosans, Koreans, Manchurians, and more recently the Chinese. What the world has not fully been aware of is that their own countrymen have also in such large measure been victims of this same kind of heartless exploitation.

10

THE STRENGTH AND WEAKNESS OF JAPANESE CHARACTER

How strong is Japan? In a time like this, when our lives and our freedom have been placed in jeopardy by Japan's armed forces, such a question must first of all be answered in terms of battleships, aircraft, military equipment, size of army, economic resources, and industrial capacity to produce war materials. In these days of mechanized warfare, lack of any of the modern instruments of war is fatal. Strength of character, courage, and devotion to a cause are of themselves alone insufficient to turn the tide of victory.

Nevertheless the complicated instruments of present day wars, instead of pushing the human element into the background, place an even greater premium on skill and training and judgment than was the case during earlier centuries. The outcome, therefore, of a modern conflict between two powerful and well armed nations may in the long run still be decided by the basic qualities of the people—their temperament, morale, attitudes, intellectual ability, and fundamental traits of character. For this reason an attempt has been made in the preceding chapters to throw light on the characteristics of the Japanese people and their way of life. As concisely and objectively as possible, there have been passed in review such distinctive traits as their fanatical pride of race, belief in their divine origin, deep-seated loyalty to the Emperor and native land,

hatred and contempt of foreigners, glorification of war, cruelty to their enemies, insistence on the inferior status of women, extraordinary zeal for knowledge, exploitation of the poor, and willingness to be regimented by those in authority.

From this brief catalogue of basic traits we gain a vivid picture of an enemy well endowed with the qualities needed for the ambitious campaign of military conquest upon which they have embarked. They possess the driving force, the united front, and the breadth and depth of scientific knowledge and attainments that make them a powerful and dangerous foe. These traits were selected for a more extended discussion because of their outstanding importance; consideration should also be given to other aspects of their character that seem to be a real part of their present heritage. Not all may agree that the traits discussed in the following paragraphs are sufficiently widespread and deep-seated to be utilized in an appraisal of the strength and weakness of Japanese character. The Japanese are by no means all alike in their reactions and responses to the situations they face, and generalizations concerning their behavior under given circumstances are especially difficult in view of the rapid changes that have taken place as feudal customs have given way to modern conceptions of life.

As a matter of fact the Japanese, like the people of southern Europe, tend to be fickle and changeable. A highly prized symbol of the nation is the cherry blossom which today blooms in all its beauty and splendor and tomorrow has its petals scattered by the driving rain. A popular theme of their poetry is the impermanence and sudden vicissitudes of life. Waves of nationalism have given way to waves of liberalism only later to be engulfed in a strong tide of reactionary forces that now grip the entire nation. The patterns of life and the attitudes of the people now ruled by the iron hand of the militarists are

quite different from those displayed in former years. Western ideas and philosophies of life have made deep inroads into the thinking of many of the people. Many thousands have had their lives molded by Christian ethics, and there has been throughout the whole modern period an influential minority eager to abandon outmoded ways of life and build a nation worthy of leadership in spiritual ideals as well as in material progress.

Nevertheless the events since Pearl Harbor compel us to be more realistic in our appraisal of Japanese character. It is now apparent that we were too much inclined to gloss over their imperfections and magnify their virtues. The traits that have been selected for further discussion stand out as characteristic of the nation as a whole in spite of the exceptions to the contrary. Through the veneer of westernizing influences can still be seen the outcropping of their feudalistic heritage.

Sensitivity to Criticism and Fear of Ridicule

The visitor to Japan soon becomes aware of the fact that the Japanese cannot stand criticism and always tend to look upon it as an unfriendly act. This extreme sensitiveness to outside opinion cannot be explained entirely by their strong feeling of race pride and deep attachment to their country. This nationalistic spirit, of course, is a factor of great importance, but along with it is a real feeling of inadequacy when they are measured by western standards. The Japanese are well aware that their recent progress, while phenomenal, is extremely uneven, and that many aspects of their culture stubbornly resist change and are out of harmony with the requirements of modern living. They realize that their position of equality in the family of civilized nations can be most readily maintained by placing their best foot foremost and exhibiting to outsiders those parts of their culture which are most likely to command

admiration. It has been their policy in recent years to conceal the seamy side of life from foreign gaze. Their slums, their prisons, their broken homes, the abject poverty of the lower classes, are perhaps little or no worse than their counterpart in western countries, but they must if possible be kept in the background.

In order to carry out this policy there has been maintained for many years the Japan Tourist Bureau which helpfully and courteously placed its services at the disposal of tourists, opened the doors of palaces and temples, and pointed the way to picturesque places famous for their scenic beauty. Many visitors to Japan have enjoyed this official hospitality and have not realized until later that they saw only the things the Japanese wanted them to see. During a visit to Japan in 1935 I went to the Foreign Office with the request that they facilitate my study of social institutions, prisons, slum clearance programs, and conditions of labor in factories. It was quite apparent that this proposed investigation did not meet with official favor and was of a nature that required more careful supervision than could be given by the Tourist Bureau. American-trained government officials were placed at my disposal and I was taken on interesting trips through slum areas and government institutions of their own selection. Through their most courteous assistance, I learned a great deal about their methods of dealing with social problems; but I was always aware of the fact that many doors were closed and that I was by no means getting a complete view of the whole situation.

From one point of view the Japanese were justified in their insistence that the darker aspects of their national life should be concealed from prying eyes. The western world has been too prone to judge the Orient by the worst features of its civilization. To many people the oriental coolie and his manner of life have become symbolic of Far Eastern culture. To

counteract this unfortunate tendency the Japanese have studied the art of parading their excellencies and hiding their shortcomings. So successfully has this been done that many foreign visitors leave Japan with an exaggerated opinion of its attainments in western culture. They are impressed with the beautiful boulevards of Tokyo and have had no glimpse of the miles of streets in that great city too narrow for the passage of an automobile. Slums and blighted areas are not adjacent to the main business center as is common in America but are attached to industrial suburbs far removed from the paths of tourist travel. The maintenance of a good front is a matter of great importance to a proud people who so keenly desire recognition as a superior nation.

While sensitivity to criticism and fear of ridicule are almost universal human traits, they seem to be unusually characteristic of the Japanese people. In a nation where conformity is so rigidly insisted upon, any departure from the customary pattern of behavior brings severe condemnation upon the offender. The device that has traditionally been used by the Japanese to control conduct is fear of ridicule. It is said that in olden times the penalty for failure of a samurai to repay a debt was to be publicly laughed at. Japanese children are still taught that the worst thing that can befall them is to be ridiculed. Many of the social changes that were carried out during the years immediately following the Restoration were initiated to avoid the common foreign criticism that their nation was uncivilized. Such reforms as prohibition of nudity, the discontinuance of the custom of mixed bathing in public bath houses, and the enactment of legislation designed to improve conditions of labor in factories were greatly influenced by their sensitivity to the freely expressed criticisms of the western world. The Japanese readily respond to the influences that are brought to bear upon them—a trait that has caused

them to be called a fickle people. But it is this flexibility that has enabled them to assimilate so rapidly many aspects of western civilization and initiate those changes that were essential for the building of a powerful nation.

Imitators or Originators?

This ability to adjust themselves to changing conditions and their willingness to try out new things that come to their attention is closely associated with the quality of imitativeness which seems to be peculiarly characteristic of the Japanese people. Their whole history substantiates the charge that their pattern of civilization has been largely copied from other lands. Their first steps toward literacy were made possible by the adoption of Chinese ideographs and their study of ancient Chinese classics. The arrival of Buddhism and Confucianism from the continent pushed into the background their primitive nature worship and gave the Japanese their first real glimpse of spiritual ideals and moral precepts. Dazzled by the brilliance of the Chinese civilization a thousand years ago, the Japanese borrowed from China in wholesale fashion whatever was useful in laying the foundation for their own nation.

In a similar way the Japanese became infatuated with the achievements of western civilization shortly after the beginning of their modern era. During the seventies and eighties of last century a strong wave of westernism engulfed their large urban centers and brought about an indiscriminate acceptance of western customs, ideas, and commodities regardless of their value or appropriateness. Later this extraordinary emphasis upon things western somewhat subsided and care was taken to adopt only those features of western civilization that gave promise of real utility. In recent years their borrowings from the West have been largely in the field of technology

where the copying of western inventions has gone forward on such a wide scale that their material civilization is largely a replica of that in the West.

From one point of view this extensive reliance upon imitation of the achievements of others is evidence of second rate ability and lack of capacity to do original work. The Japanese on their part freely acknowledge their indebtedness to others but point out that imitation is a part of the process of education and that the real test of ability lies in the capacity to adapt what is learned to the needs of the recipient. Their isolation in the Far East prevented them from participation in the early stages of development of the modern machine age. Their late arrival on the modern scene compelled them to adopt the role of learners, but even during the process of learning, they claim, they went far beyond a blind copying of the technology and achievements of the West. The point they always emphasize is that they have adapted western ideas and inventions, and in this process of adaptation they believe that they have made many improvements of incalculable value.

The future must decide whether the Japanese are mere imitators or possess sufficient originality to do pioneer work in new fields of knowledge. No matter how this question may ultimately be answered, the significant fact still remains that through their capacity and willingness to imitate they have been successful in building up a powerful nation. In this respect they stand in striking contrast to the Chinese who during their early contacts with western nations were never widely interested in learning from the latter's achievements. The willingness of the mass of the Japanese people to discard old things for new and to accept rather than to despise foreign improvements may be an outgrowth of their dependence upon governmental initiative throughout their long history. Their

training has made them obedient to their superiors and they always look to the leadership of those in authority when questions of policy must be decided. In their earlier contacts with China as with the West in more recent times, it was only necessary for the ruling classes to be convinced of the necessity of rebuilding the nation by following foreign models. Their decision was accepted without question by the mass of the people, and as a consequence remarkable changes could sweep over the nation with a minimum of delay.

The capacity of the Japanese to imitate must not blind us to the fact that the adjustments they made to western ways of life during the past half century have cost the people heavily. The customs and traditions handed down from generation to generation are too well entrenched to be abandoned lightly. A struggle is always involved when the new displaces the old, and this is doubly true in Japan where the process of change involved acceptance of an occidental culture.

In their imitation of things western they were most successful along lines in which past experience had given them the needed skills and capacities. It is no accident that the Japanese were able so quickly to adjust to modern machinery and build up an industrial system capable of competing successfully with western manufactures. In their own arts and crafts of former centuries they had received the basic training for the machine age; and they needed only adequate opportunity to turn these old abilities into new channels. This is true also in the scientific professions where their traditional skill with their hands, their keen sense of proportion, their patience with details, and their interest in intellectual achievement made it possible for them to distinguish themselves in engineering, architecture, medicine, surgery, and in many other lines as soon as training facilities were available.

Their success in modernizing their military system need also

occasion no surprise when we recall their old military traditions and their glorification of the art of war. However deep may have been their sentimental attachment to their old weapons and earlier methods of combat, their desire to preserve their nation from foreign aggression was sufficiently strong to compel the leaders to take immediate steps to make their fighting forces the equal of any in the West. Their achievements in this field, first demonstrated to the world in the Russo-Japanese war, were made possible by the fact that a military foundation had already been laid upon which a strong superstructure of modern armament could easily and expeditiously be built.

While imitation rather than originality seems to be characteristic of the Japanese nation, their borrowings from abroad have usually been preceded by careful study and selection of the features that seemed to be best suited for their purpose. The Japanese navy, for example, was organized in accordance with English naval practice, but in the education of their officers they followed the American system; and they made use of the German system of discipline. In the organization of the Japanese army, they were first guided by the experience of the Dutch, English, and French military staffs and finally decided to follow the German army system. In preparation for the writing of their civil code, commissions studied the laws of all civilized nations so that they would be in a position to profit by the best foreign experience.

Their imitation then has been selective rather than slavish. Their search has not always been for the best models but for those which at any particular time they preferred to follow. They have made no effort to imitate the western patterns of collective bargaining, universal suffrage, freedom of speech, treatment of women, or abolition of child labor. In general, their imitative faculty has been given its widest scope in taking

over those aspects of our material civilization that have seemed to them most essential in building up their military power.

Their Masked Emotions

The Japanese in their contacts with others maintain such stolid, masked faces that they give little indication of their highly emotional natures. Outwardly, while going through the daily routine of life they appear as calm and expressionless as the statues of Buddha that stand on their god shelves. Within, raging fires may be burning; but tradition demands that there should be no outward evidence of inner feelings. This repression of emotions is at least in part a relic of feudal days when ability to conceal one's purpose from an enemy might be the deciding factor in a mortal combat. Perhaps even more important was its use as a device to enforce rigid class distinctions. From inferiors unquestioning obedience was exacted. No questions were to be asked, no curiosity, or surprise, or displeasure displayed in the presence of a superior. Any expressions of pain or pleasure were regarded as a grave discourtesy. Infringements of this code were punished severely. When a lord of a clan travelled in state along a highway, the common people had to show their respect by falling to their knees and bowing their faces to the ground. Above all strict silence was to be maintained. Those whose behavior was not in accord with the strict regulations were relentlessly cut down by the sword.

The harsh restrictions of feudalism have long since been discarded but the effects of centuries of repression do not quickly disappear. When the Emperor appears in public, he receives the greeting of silence instead of cheers. Noisy demonstrations of loyalty on the part of the populace are still taboo. In social intercourse repression rather than naturalness is a common characteristic. The facial expressions of the

people remain so immobile that they become oppressive to occidentals accustomed to reading countenances as an open book. Stolid, immobile facial features are *de rigueur* among the Japanese in their daily contacts with others. This is the front that custom demands of them and on all ordinary occasions they seem unmoved by the fate that befalls them.

But the stoicism of the Japanese is powerless to stem the tide of emotions roused by unusual or unexpected vicissitudes. When faced with a crisis for which they are utterly unprepared, they are likely to break under the strain and give way to emotional outbursts. During and immediately following the destructive earthquake in 1923, the Japanese became panic-stricken and were unable to maintain order or give effective aid to the injured until the army took charge and established martial law. Wild rumors were circulated that the Koreans had caused the earthquake and were taking advantage of the disaster to make an invasion. Thousands of these unfortunate immigrants residing in the earthquake area were murdered by armed mobs that had been carried off their feet by the excitement and confusion of the moment. In time of disaster by fire, flood, or storm, the Japanese not merely give full expression to their feelings of grief and fear but seem to lack capacity to act on their own initiative and take suitable steps to deal with the situation. But as soon as the voice of authority is heard, they fall into line, hide their feelings behind the mask of stolidity, and become efficient workers in the task of rescue or rehabilitation of the victims.

Indirection and Roundaboutness

A Japanese trait which has led to many misunderstandings in their relations with westerners is their indirection or roundabout way of dealing with social situations. Americans ordinarily take pride in laying all their cards on the table and in

stating frankly even an unpleasant truth if the occasion demands it, whereas the Japanese think this is the height of rudeness and vulgarity. The Japanese are inclined to resort to deception rather than make a frank statement that may give offense. This lack of openness has placed Americans at a disadvantage in dealing with the Japanese. We assume that our straightforwardness is being reciprocated only to find in the end that they may have taken advantage of our belief in their sincerity.

Negotiations in which there must be considerable discussion before arriving at a common agreement require the assistance of a third party. In all the arrangements preliminary to marriage, the services of a go-between are essential. It is especially important that the first meeting of the prospective bride and groom shall be so planned that it will appear to be casual or even accidental in order that there may be no loss of face if either party objects to the match. If a house is to be purchased, a go-between is employed to carry through the business transaction. When difficulties arise between two persons, efforts to find a satisfactory settlement must be placed in the hands of an intermediary. This indirect method of dealing with people is for the purpose of avoiding embarrassing situations. According to the Japanese code, disagreeable things may be said, but never face to face.

This roundaboutness appears also in their manner of speech as well as of action. Their language itself by its ambiguous and impersonal methods of expression lends itself to this way of thinking and speaking. By the use of honorifics instead of personal pronouns indefinite statements are possible without in any way concealing the meaning of the speaker. They seem to prefer expressions that are somewhat vague and even slightly ambiguous because a more direct statement that goes straight to the point might give the person spoken to an

impression of abruptness or impoliteness. The genius of the language often requires circumlocutions in the expression of a thought with involved and long drawn-out sentences. It is noticeable that Japanese who have become proficient in a European language tend to speak their own tongue more concisely and clearly. The westerner who prefers to proceed directly and without delay to the settlement of a problem is often exasperated in his dealings with a Japanese who seems temperamentally unfitted to express himself in a clear and unequivocal manner in a face-to-face conference.

Dissimulation and Hypocrisy

Dissimulation and hypocrisy are closely associated with this lack of directness and straightforwardness in facing difficult situations. This is seen in the custom of pretending not to see what actually exists before one's eyes. If people meet unexpectedly under embarrassing circumstances, the difficulty is overcome by failing to recognize each other. Acquaintances, who may use the common washroom of a Japanese hotel at the same morning hour, will ignore each other's presence. A host, surprised at the entrance of an unexpected visitor, will leave the room with no word of apology or greeting. When properly attired, he will return and greet the guest in the manner prescribed by custom. The social advantage of such a custom is obvious but it places a premium on hypocrisy that permeates many aspects of Japanese life. Children of concubines are given full status in a family as soon as they are properly registered. A family that has died out may be revived by the device of appointing some one to take the family name and worship at the family shrine. The Japanese boast of one unchanging Imperial dynasty although it is well known that the line of descent has been broken many times by adoptions. Imperial edicts are accepted as direct pronounce-

ments from the Throne, whereas all are aware that governmental policies are actually determined by the Emperor's advisers. Foreign missionaries have discovered that Japanese churches sometimes fulfill their agreement to pay a share of their pastor's salary through a bookkeeping device whereby the pastor makes a personal contribution to the church of the exact amount they have agreed to pay him. These and many other similar examples that might be given of Japanese attitudes and ways of thinking indicate at least a low conception of truth and honesty even if they are not regarded as intentionally deceptive.

As a matter of fact, one of the characteristics of the Japanese which impressed westerners in their dealings with them following the Restoration, was their untruthfulness. "The Japanese are the greatest liars in the world," declared Townsend Harris, our first Minister to Japan. After many months of negotiations with their officials in an effort to draft a treaty, he wrote: "They do not know the value of a straightforward and truthful policy, at least they do not practise it. They never hesitate at uttering a falsehood even when the truth would serve the same purpose." * Our first foreign missionaries frequently commented upon their inability to rely upon the word of the Japanese and pointed out that even when they were confronted with convincing evidence of their duplicity, they did not seem to have any feeling of guilt.

The Japanese apparently do not accept fully the dictum that honesty is the best policy. Circumstances determine what should be said, and in this failure to follow the principle of truth telling, they may be guided by the desire to give pleasure to others as well as to gain profit for themselves. The foreigner in Japan is frequently told what he wants to hear, what will

* Carl Crow, *He Opened the Door of Japan*, pp. 148, 228–229 (New York: Harper & Brothers, 1939). Reprinted by permission.

promote kindly feelings. Explanations of embarrassing situations are not given frankly: the best face on the matter is always made regardless of the actual facts. It is assumed that a statement of the real truth is not expected and therefore to speak frankly and openly on such occasions would be misunderstood.

Dishonesty in Business

This white lie, the effort to say that which gives pleasure to the hearer or is most convenient for the speaker stands out as a prominent characteristic of Japanese civilization. There is only a step of course from this disregard of truth to an acceptance of dishonesty as a legitimate means of getting ahead in the struggle of life. There seems to be no doubt that business ethics in Japan is different from the standards generally prevailing in western countries. In all nations dishonesty in business is an evil force that must be dealt with, and the important factor that determines the moral status of a nation is the conscience of the whole people as reflected in public opinion. In Japan there is no effective protest when a business firm infringes on the patents or copyrights of a foreign competitor. On the contrary, there may be admiration for the display of skill needed to copy intricate processes worked out abroad as well as a feeling that this has been done patriotically for the advancement of the Japanese nation. There is no feeling that a competitor has been hit beneath the belt and that the Japanese have lowered themselves by taking an unfair advantage. In the bitter struggle for world markets and to build up Japanese industries able to meet the needs of the nation, the prevailing ethics and standards of business procedure are too likely to be those of war where the end always justifies the means.

The dishonesty and low status of business ethics that pre-

vailed in old Japan were at least in part an outgrowth of their feudal, militaristic system with its contemptuous attitude toward merchants and business undertakings. The occupation of the trader was considered degrading and merchants were placed low in the social scale. They were not permitted to stand in the presence of samurai and when addressing them were required to kneel and keep their hands upon the ground. While the modern era brought with it more favorable attitudes toward the world of business and an improvement in ethical standards, western business men from the beginning of their contact with the Japanese found them frequently to be dishonest, evasive, unwilling to abide by contracts, and generally unreliable. As Japanese merchants became more familiar with western business practices, their standards of business morality improved, but even in recent years many complaints were heard of their repudiation of debts and their trickery, especially when competing with foreign business interests in Japan.

Political Corruption

Closely associated with low standards of business morality is political corruption which is constantly rearing its ugly head even in high official circles. Governmental subsidies to important business undertakings have been drawn upon for political purposes. Scandals frequently arise in connection with the letting of contracts for government buildings and in the administration of government-owned utilities. Full details of such maladministration rarely get before the public because of close working relations between newspapers and corrupt officials. High government officers have been convicted of acceptance of bribes, participation in graft, and the sale of government property for their own private gain. Crimes of these kinds arouse a great deal of public criticism

but the punishment imposed by the courts is likely to be light. While Japan of course does not stand alone in its maladministration of public affairs, political corruption is accepted more complacently by the Japanese than by western peoples and therefore it is not possible to make a vigorous fight against it.

Treachery in War

A nation characterized by such low ethical standards in the fields of business and politics would certainly not hesitate to make full use of duplicity in the strategy of war. Throughout Japanese history are found instances where treachery, or more euphemistically decisive-surprise action, has been employed to gain the advantage of striking the first blow. Among the modern examples of this practice are the sinking of the Russian fleet off Port Arthur in February 1904, two days prior to the declaration of war; the occupation of Manchuria by the Japanese army in September 1931 without any official intimation that such action was contemplated; the surprise attack made on the Chinese garrison at Peiping on the night of July 7, 1937, which marked the beginning of their large scale invasion of China; and finally the treacherous attack on Pearl Harbor on Sunday morning December 7, 1941, while the two countries were still attempting to settle their differences through negotiations.

This attack on America aroused unusual bitterness because the preparations for it were made under cover of a special diplomatic mission sent to this country on their own initiative. This move on their part was accepted in good faith by the American government and brought about a false feeling of security which was taken advantage of by the Japanese invading forces. The vast gulf between the American and Japanese conceptions of the role of frankness and truthfulness in

the field of diplomacy can be seen in the long negotiations between our Secretary of State and the Japanese Ambassador in Washington. When Mr. Hull was handed the final reply of the Japanese government one hour after the attack on Pearl Harbor, he made this statement: "I must say that in all my conversation with you [the Japanese Ambassador] during the last nine months I have never uttered one word of untruth. This is borne out absolutely by the record. In all my fifty years of public service I have never seen a document that was more overcrowded with infamous falsehoods and distortions—infamous falsehoods and distortions on a scale so huge that I never imagined until today that any government on this planet was capable of uttering them."

Suicide as a Way of Escape

So deeply has suicide become imbedded in Japanese custom and tradition that it is not ordinarily looked upon with disapproval and under certain circumstances is commended as the proper course of action. While Japan's suicide rate is not abnormally high when compared with western countries, self-destruction is widely regarded as a legitimate way of escape from adversities too heavy to be borne, and the victim is more likely to be praised for his courage in resolutely facing death than to be criticized for his failure to overcome the difficulties that beset him. The dramatic sacrifice of one's life as a public protest against a government policy that is believed to be wrong makes a deep impression upon the Japanese. The sordid aspects of an illicit love affair fade into the background when the guilty participants make atonement by sacrificing their lives.

According to the old samurai code, life is to be laid aside as a garment that is no longer needed. Harakiri, literally belly cutting, which was the classic method of self-destruction,

grew perhaps out of the old Japanese belief that the soul had its seat in the bowels. Its origin goes back to the civil wars of the mediaeval period when death by one's own hand was far preferable to capture by a cruel and merciless enemy. This method of suicide had therefore a military origin and was practiced only by the samurai who always carried two swords, a long one to be wielded in battle and a short one with which to end their life if dire necessity arose.

Harakiri on the field of battle was necessarily a hastily improvised affair with no time or opportunity to follow rigidly prescribed forms. But when time permitted, the act was accompanied with an elaborate ritual, the careful observance of which was absolutely essential. In preparation for death in this manner, a man must bathe his body, put on clean clothes or a ceremonial robe, and offer prayers before the household shrine of his ancestors. Then kneeling on the straw matting in the accustomed Japanese position, his legs were tied securely together with a sash and the kimono thrown off his shoulders baring his body to the waist. Care was taken to have the body tilted forward so as to avoid the danger of falling backward and exposing the face distorted with pain. The dagger was thrust into the left side of the abdomen and drawn steadily across to the right ending with a slight upper cut. The wound was sufficiently deep and extended to result in disembowelment. To carry through such an agonizing ordeal in the prescribed manner without showing any sign of fear or outward evidence of suffering was an achievement which required courage and fortitude on the part of the victim and aroused the admiration of those who witnessed it.

According to Japanese custom, samurai convicted of a serious offense were given the privilege of committing harakiri instead of suffering the indignity of being put to death by the official executioner. When harakiri was imposed as a

punishment, it was done with the aid of a trusted friend or assistant who with one stroke of a sword decapitated the kneeling victim at the moment when the dagger was thrust in his abdomen. Death imposed in this manner did not carry with it the feeling of degradation that was associated with an ordinary execution. Even though this form of harakiri involved only momentary pain, not all possessed sufficient hardihood and strength of will to go through with such an ordeal. Those whose hand faltered at the critical moment were despised as cowards. To be condemned to commit harakiri was regarded as a severe punishment, but it had the advantage of giving the samurai an opportunity to show the stuff of which they were made.

With the coming of the modern era, the mediaeval method of committing suicide by disembowelment has almost completely disappeared. One of the last notable instances of harakiri carried out in the traditional manner was the suicide of Count Maresuge Nogi and his wife in 1912 at the time of the death of Emperor Mutsuhito. This famous general, who had directed the siege of Port Arthur in the Russo-Japanese war, revived the ancient custom of *junshi* and together with his wife followed his lord to the grave. This final act of immolation brought added glory to his name and today the Nogi shrine in Tokyo attracts large numbers of people who come to worship his departed spirit.

In recent years harakiri has given way to other methods of suicide that may be less painful and more in accord with modern ideas. A spectacular method of dying is likely to be chosen by persons bent on self-destruction. Kegon Falls near Nikko, where the water plunges over a precipice into a canyon 250 feet below, became such a popular place for young suicides that it had to be guarded by police. During the year 1934 nearly 800 people leaped to their death in the crater of

Mt. Mihara on the island of Oshima. Mount Asama, an active volcano near the summer resort of Karuízawa, has also been a popular place to end life. The vast majority of those who commit suicide in modern times do so for personal reasons such as disappointed love, loss of property, fear of disgrace, ill health, failure to pass examinations, or despair over life's difficulties. More rarely is death sought in order to atone for a crime or as a protest against injustice. The old samurai teaching concerning harakiri has long been outmoded, but it still has power to mold the attitudes of people and cause them to judge leniently those who choose to face death rather than adversity.

Assassination as a Means of Control

This tacit approval of suicide is paralleled by a tolerant if not sympathetic attitude toward those who resort to assassination as a means of political control. Assassination of undesirable or unpopular leaders is a practice hoary with age and widespread among many peoples, but in Japan it has become so deeply imbedded in tradition and custom that even in modern times it still occurs with considerable frequency and tends to be condoned by public opinion. A recent instance of this resort to direct action took place in 1936 when a group of army officers, assisted by soldiers under their command, murdered three ministers of state, made attempts to kill other prominent men, and seized important government buildings in Tokyo.

The significant thing about Japanese assassinations is that they have rarely been the work of fanatics or people with purely personal grievances as is ordinarily the case in western countries. Japanese assassins are likely to be zealous patriots and may themselves be occupying positions of importance in the government. The assassination is designed as a protest

against practices or policies of which they disapprove. From the point of view of the public, the victim is also blameworthy because his conduct was such as to arouse the vindictive passions of the murderer. The tendency therefore is to condone such acts and to impose upon the guilty parties only light punishments.

The traditional code requires that the assassin should immediately commit suicide as an expression of his sincerity. When this course of action is followed, there are no strong feelings of condemnation on the part of the public and the assassin may even be praised as a super-patriot. In 1909 a memorial service was held in a Tokyo temple in honor of Kurushima Tsuneki, who twenty years earlier had blown off one of Count Okuma's legs in an attempt at assassination. Count Okuma was included among the invited guests but since he was unable to attend a personal representative was sent in his stead. One speaker recalled that after Okuma had recovered consciousness, following the attempt on his life, he asked what had become of his assailant. Upon being told that he had committed suicide on the spot, the Count said that his action was a truly manly thing and was worthy of admiration. On another occasion the Count received a letter from the editor of a book listing the exploits of national heroes, and asking if he had any objection to the inclusion of Kurushima. The Count cheerfully and promptly replied that he had none whatever. According to his philosophy, a murderer whose motive was patriotic could justly be honored as a patriot. It is well known that the tombs of popular assassins are decked with flowers and that they are favorite places for pilgrimages. In order to stop this public glorification of the deeds of misguided zealots, the government issued an ordinance forbidding costly funerals and other posthumous honors to such criminals.

Since there is ordinarily no strong condemnation of these acts of violence, assassination is frequently effective in accomplishing its desired purpose. Political parties or industrial leaders that are made the object of these violent attacks tend to modify their policies or activities in ways designed to placate their enemies. As far as the general public is concerned, these changes brought about as a result of assassination are looked upon as appropriate expressions of the share of guilt that must be accepted by the victim's associates. Under these conditions, assassination always stands behind the scenes as a real threat to the progresss of liberal government, and at critical times may wreck constructive policies that seemed bound to succeed. It is therefore quite apparent that the traditional attitudes of the Japanese concerning assassination play readily into the hands of reactionary leaders and operate as a serious handicap to the building of a more liberal and democratic government.

An important aspect of this device of control through assassination is that the assassin is not a demented individual endeavoring unaided to accomplish the purpose he has in view. He is most likely to be a member of an organization either established for the purpose of ridding the country of leaders whom they disapprove or willing to adopt such a method of direct action when circumstances seem to make it necessary. Among these organizations are the Blood Allies, the Black Dragon Society, and other so-called patriotic societies that have a long record of bloody deeds in their dark and devious efforts to guide the destiny of their nation.

Capacity to Work in Groups

The flair for organization and their tendency to work in groups for a common purpose must always be kept in mind when studying the traits of the Japanese people. The Japanese

are essentially gregarious in their activities. They like to assemble in crowds and rub shoulders with one another. The individual standing alone and making a fight for personal liberty arouses no admiration among the Japanese. In Japan the individual is subordinated to the group and personal liberty gives way to the broader goal of corporate unity. The principle that national welfare must always have precedence over private interests is a basic part of their traditional philosophy of life. Consequently, subjection and obedience to authority are deeply rooted national traits. They have learned how to increase their strength by standing together. Organization and integration into a larger whole are lessons they learned long before their contact with the West. Their capacity to organize and work together in groups has been very evident among our Japanese immigrants on the Pacific coast. One of their striking characteristics is the thoroughness of their organization which extends into all their fields of interest and maintains a strong hold on the entire Japanese community. In their tendency to organize and in their ready response to group control the Japanese have been equalled by few, if any, of the European immigrant groups.

This tendency of the Japanese to act together under authority is a trait that enormously multiplies the strength of the nation in its desperate struggle to win the present war. Less effort is wasted in long debates concerning policies to be adopted. Individual sacrifices that go far beyond what in the opinion of the West could be endured are made with very little protest. The Japanese are bound together so closely in their various groups and organizations that disintegration and disorganization in any part of the nation are not likely to occur unless the entire national government collapses. The defeat of the Japanese cannot be brought about by fomenting a revolution led by disillusioned leaders. The power of inter-

locking group relationships is too great to make possible such a contingency. The Japanese war will end only when their resources are outmatched by the overwhelming numbers and power of their enemies.

INDEX

Ambiguity of language, 143, 144
American foreign missionary movement, 39, 40
American-born Japanese, 10–12, 61
American tendency to belittle the Japanese, 60
Amusements, traditional forms of, 90–92, 99, 100; wartime restrictions on, 115
Araki, General Sadao, 43, 47, 53
Assassination as a means of control, 152–154
Athletic sports, 95–99
Axis powers, Japanese alliance with, 14

Bathing customs, 93, 94
Black Dragon Society, 154
Blood Allies, 154
Brutalities of Japanese soldiers, 48–51

Café types of amusement, 99, 100
California Alien Land laws, 37
Calisthenics, emphasis on, 97
China, attitudes toward, 53; borrowings from, 22, 137
China Weekly Review, 49
Chinese ideographs, 69, 70
Christian religion, attitude toward, 29, 34
Colleges and universities, insufficient number of, 65
Communism among students, 108
Community spirit, lack of, 123
Confucian ethics, influence of, 123
Courage of Japanese soldiers, 55, 56
Crow, Carl, 145

"Dangerous thoughts," 19, 107
Disabilities of women, 83
Dishonesty in business, 146, 147
Dissimulation and hypocrisy, 144, 145
Divorce, 83
Double standard of morals, 74, 75

Eden, Anthony, 50, 51
Emancipation of women, efforts for, 86; reasons for slow progress, 88
Emperor worship, 17–19
Employment of women, 82
Exclusion of Japanese immigrants, 36, 38
Exploitation, of factory workers, 128, 129; of female labor, 81; of peasants, 125–128
Expulsion of foreigners from Japan, 29

Factory Act, 90
Family, control over marriage of children, 84; divorce, 83; responsibility for relief of members, 123, 124; subordinate role of wife, 73, 83
Famine in north Japan, 127
Far Eastern studies, lack of interest in, 9
Fickleness of the people, 133
Foreign athletic games, modification of, 96
Foreign books, popularity of, 71, 72
Frisen, Roy M., 5
Fujita, Lieutenant, 47

Gas attacks on Chinese, 49
Geisha, role as entertainers, 76; trends toward declining popularity, 103
Girls' schools, inadequacy of, 82

Glorification of war, 47
Go-betweens, common use of, 143
Government regulation of living habits, 114
Group organization, 155
Gulick, S. L., 36

Harakiri, 150, 151
Harris, Townsend, 145
Hearn, Lafcadio, 73, 120
Hideyoshi, 24, 44, 52
Higher education, 65, 67
Hitler, 14, 15, 28
Hongkong, Japanese behavior at, 50, 51
Hours of labor, 90
Hull, Cordell, 149

Imitation, reliance on, 137–139; selective rather than slavish, 140
Immigrants, Japanese, 4, 10–12, 36, 61
Immigration legislation, 4
Indentured factory labor, 79, 80
Indirection and roundaboutness, 143, 144
Industrial expansion, government support of, 121
Infanticide, 48
Intellectual ability of American-born Japanese, 61
International settlements, 32

Japan, American lack of knowledge of, 7; anti-American feeling in, 38; cruel treatment of prisoners in, 54, 55; "dangerous thoughts" in, 19, 107; early foreign aggression, 44; education in mediaeval, 62; efforts to westernize, 34; feudal attitudes in, 13; girls' schools in, 82; lack of adequate relief agencies, 122, 128; liberal movement in, 12; military authorities independent of Diet, 46; national structure, 115; nationalism in, 24, 39; objectives of education, 63; opening of, 30; patriarchal family system, 83, 84; period of seclusion, 29, 30, private philanthropy, 122, 123; prostitution, 77–79, religious foundations of, 21, 22; role of women, 73, 74; school entrance examinations in, 64–66; spiritual mobilization in, 114; standards of living, 35
Japan Advertiser, 80
Japan Tourist Bureau, 135
Japanese, attitude toward America during first world war, 38; attitude toward Christianity, 29, 39; attitude toward women, 73–88; barbarities during civil wars, 51, 52; belief in divine lineage, 15–27, boastful attitude of, 22; claims for priority in inventions, 26; condescending treatment by foreigners, 33; cruelties of, 48–51; difficulties of language, 69–71; disgrace to be taken prisoners, 56; dislike of foreigners, 30–33, 38, 39, emotional people, 142; emphasis on politeness, 112; evacuation of, 10–12; messianic complex, 23; mistaken judgments of, 6, 7; misunderstanding of Americans, 8; moral code of, 77; need for an understanding of, 10; plans for world conquest, 7; policy of terrorism, 50; pride of race, 16, 17; romanization of language, 26; revolt against foreign customs, 34, 35, 39; second generation in America, 10–12; stereotyped behavior, 8; subjugation and exploitation of native peoples, 53
Japanization of western culture, 23, 25
Jimmu, Emperor, 20
Jujitsu, 98, 99

Kabuki dramas, decline of, 103
Kinnosuke, Adachi, 37
Kojiki, 19, 20
Kurushima, Tsuneki, 153

Labor organizations, repression of, 129
Liberalism, decline of, 40

Marriage, arrangements for, 84; modern problems of, 85
Masked emotions, 112, 141, 142
Meiji, Emperor, 61
Meiji Shrine, 17
Merrill, F. T., 22
Militarism, 43, 46
Morals, instruction in, 106
Mound of Ears, 52
Moving pictures, 101, 102
Murray, Dr. David, 62

Nanking, rape of, 49
National Department of Education, 63, 64
Nationalism, 24, 39
Newspapers, circulation of, 71
Nihongi, 19, 20
Nogi, Count Maresuge, 151

Okuma, Count, 36, 153

Parental control over marriage, 84
Patriotic societies, 154
Peace Preservation Law, 107
Peasants, poverty among, 120
Perry, Commodore, 30
Phallic shrines, 78
Pilgrimages, 91, 92
Pleasure travel, 95
Political corruption, 147
Port Arthur, assault on, 56
Poverty and destitution, 118–120
Prisoners, cruel treatment of, 54, 55
Private philanthropy, 122, 123
Prostitution, 77–79

Race prejudice, 11
Racial hatred, growth of, 40, 41
Regimentation of the people, 107–117
Religious festivals, 91
Romanization of Japanese language, 71
Roosevelt, President Theodore, 4

Sale of daughters, 76, 77
Samurai, 45, 48
Sato, General, 47
School excursions, 93
Secondary education, inadequate facilities for, 64
Sensitivity to criticism, 134
Shinto religion, 18, 19
Shrines of Ise, 78
Slums of Tokyo and Osaka, 130, 131
Social activities of women, 75
Social change, difficulties involved in, 139
Social code, breakdown of, 113; requirements of, 111, 112
Solidarity of the nation, 155
Standards of living, 35; among factory workers, 129; among peasants, 126
Stoicism, 112
Student life, 68, 69, 109
Suicide, as a way of escape, 149; traditional method, 150, 151; modern methods, 151, 152
Sumptuary laws, 110

Taxi dance halls, 101
Tokugawa regime, 45
Treachery in war, 148, 149
Treaties between Japan and America, 32, 35

Utley, Freda, 127

White Peril in Far East, 28
Women, code of conduct for, 73, 74

Yasukuni shrine, 57